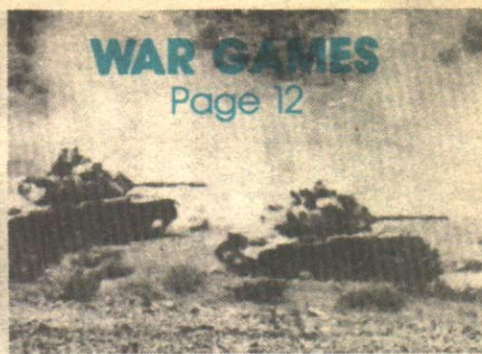


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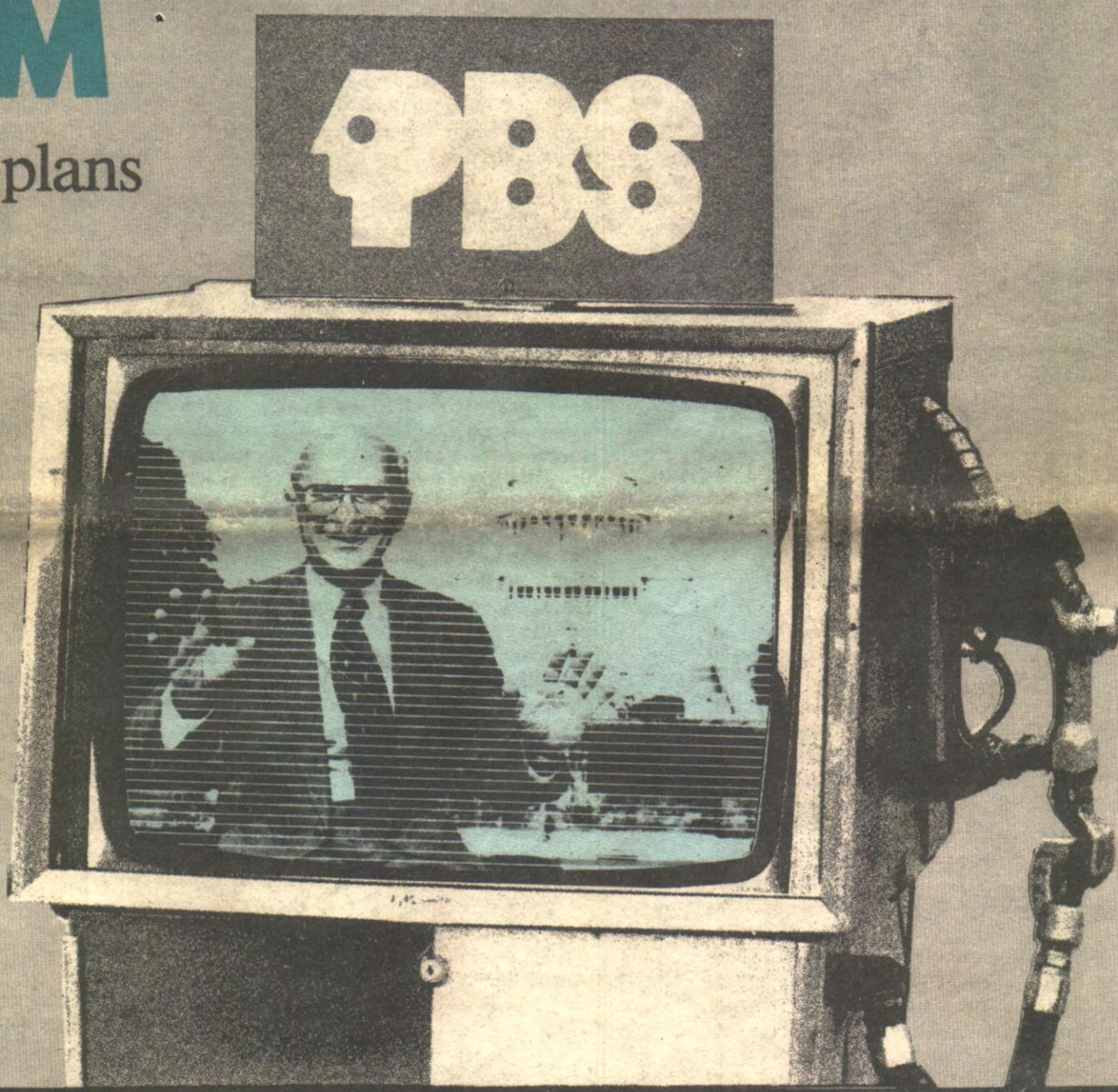
VOL. 4, NO. 27

JUNE 4-17, 1980

75 CENTS

THE PETROLEUM BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Public TV has plans
for the '80s —
and they don't
include you.
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KOREA

The story behind the
Kwangju uprising—
and why it won't
end there. Page 7



THE INSIDE STORY



Some 350 conference participants heard testimony on how working conditions affect mental health.

New therapy treats workplace stress

By John Judis

OAKLAND, CALIF.

"We're so automated that all we do is push buttons," Mike Sanchez, a service representative at Pacific Telephone Co., said. "Before you used to have to plug something in, and you'd have to find things out. But now there is no sense of accomplishment. It's all computerized."

Mary Ann Thomas, a 31-year-old assembly worker at a South San Francisco electronics plant, voiced a similar complaint. "Electronics work is the pits," Thomas said. "You sit down and you're not supposed to move except for your hands. You do small piddling things over and over again."

Sanchez and Thomas were "giving testimony"—not at a criminal trial, but at a conference on occupational stress, co-sponsored by the Institute for Labor and Mental Health and 13 Bay Area unions, and held May 18 at Oakland's Merritt College. They were among 350 blue and white collar workers—from autoworkers and machinists to nurses and office clerks—who spent the day listening to lectures, going to workshops, and relating their own often painful experiences at work.

The conference demonstrated the surprising success of the Institute in uniting the two hitherto incompatible worlds of therapy and the workplace. Much of the credit for this must go to the Institute's founder and director, Michael Lerner.

Lerner is a former philosophy professor and a veteran of the New Left, one of the accused in the infamous Seattle 8 conspiracy trial and a founder in 1971 of the New American Movement. In 1973, he began studying to become a psychotherapist. In 1977, he started the Institute.

Most therapy is aimed at people's personal and private lives. Even when employed in the workplace, therapy is most often used either to divert workers' attention from their jobs (on the premise that workplace problems stem from their home life) or toward superficial adjustments (calisthenics, breathing exercises) that do not threaten management prerogatives.

But Lerner's Institute is based on different assumptions. Lerner assumes that peoples' workplace and home lives are interdependent, but that if either is a more important cause of stress, anxiety and mental and physical illness, it is the workplace, where a person

spends most of his or her waking time.

Lerner's explanation of workplace stress is simple: "Anything that keeps you from being your full human self causes stress," Lerner said in his conference speech. In practice, this means that the principal causes of workplace stress are the many impediments to workers' full use of their skills and cooperative impulses that management erects in order to maintain its authority over the workforce. This "tyranny of the workplace" has been amply described and documented in Harry Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital* and Richard Edwards' *The Contested Terrain*.

Surplus powerlessness.

There is another central assumption that Lerner brought to the Institute. It is contained in the concept of surplus powerlessness, which Lerner developed in trying to explain how the American left "always managed to pull defeat from the jaws of victory at the last moment."

According to Lerner, most people are affected by a sense of powerlessness that is "not simply a reflection of reality, but rather an internalized sense of futility and frustration that takes on a life of its own, becomes an independent reality, and becomes a causal factor in why people fail to engage in actions that are 'objectively' in their own self-interest."

This sense of powerlessness explained the willingness of the New Left in the late '60s to "squander the moral and political capital it had built up and return to happy oblivion." It also explains why workers fail to act to change workplace conditions that make them unhappy.

Most workers, Lerner argues, still believe that the U.S. is "a meritocracy—that in America you can make it if you really try, and that you have created your own reality." They believe that if you "are in an oppressive work situation, you have only your own self to blame." This self-blame "disempowers people to fight against stress collectively, because they believe it is their own fault."

Lerner's approach to workplace stress follows from this concept of surplus powerlessness. It combines therapy designed to counteract the feelings of powerlessness with straightforward political and trade union action.

The Institute has organized "stress groups"—modelled after the women's movement's consciousness-raising groups—in workplaces and also across workplace lines. While the Institute's therapists teach some standard stress-reduction techniques, the focus of the groups is on developing a collective sense of what is wrong in the workplace—what is causing every worker to feel stress—and then taking action to eliminate the source of the stress.

In consultation with Bay Area unions, the Institute has also been formulating legislative proposals to improve workplace conditions. These proposals range from changes in worker compensation laws—which will put the burden of proof for the presence or absence of stress on the employer rather than the employee—to the creation of workers' health and safety committees in firms with more than 50 employees. These committees could make recommendations to an elected state board that would be empowered to force firms to comply with its rulings.

Beyond this, Lerner has a vision of the stress groups as the basis of an "autonomous movement" that would have the same importance for the labor movement in the 1980s that the small groups had for the 1968-1975 women's movement. Out of these stress groups would come an understanding of the indissoluble link between workers' unhappiness and the structure of the American economy.

The Institute now has about 10 stress groups in the Bay Area. Three are with phone company workers; one is with welfare workers; several are with different kinds of hospital workers.

The Institute also has set up a program—funded by a \$300,000 National Institute of Mental Health grant—to train shop stewards to run their own stress groups.

The stress groups have already had some impact. One group of telephone workers became so incensed about their working conditions that they stormed into their Communications Workers of America (CWA) local and demanded instant action. This incident temporarily strained relations between the union leadership and the Institute.

The most moving part of the conference was the testimony, which was delivered by workers from the sponsoring unions to panels of local public officials and union presidents. (Four city council members from Oakland and two from Berkeley attended, as well as a county supervisor and a state assemblyman.)

A longtime postal clerk explained how he became at his window "the most visible arm of the federal government," subject to all the abuse that people want to heap on the higher reaches of the bureaucracy. He confessed his constant fear that "someone was going to come up with a gun and start shooting."

But the most eloquent testimony came from the telephone workers. Virginia Kay, a middle-aged black phone operator, told of the terrors of being constantly watched and listened in on. "We feel like adults. We feel we don't have to be observed like children," she said. "It's done to fire an operator, not to help her."

King and other phone company workers told of not being able to go to the bathroom when they wanted to and even developing bladder infections. "You put on a light and you call and say you want to go, and they put you on a list," King said. "Maybe it'll take half an hour before you can go. Then if you're gone six minutes, they come in and get you."

With only 10 functioning groups, the Institute is clearly just beginning. It is still unclear how far it can extend its roots in the Bay Area labor movement—whether, for instance, stress groups are more appropriate to white-collar service occupations than blue-collar jobs.

But to date the Institute is clearly engaged in an important experiment, which at worst will make some trouble for the Eichmanns of the phone company and at best might help revive an American labor movement desperately in need of anger, energy and ideas from below.

Both the effectiveness of the Institute's approach and the formidable obstacles it faces were illustrated by what happened to one phone worker who attended the conference. He was so disturbed by his fellow workers' testimony that he couldn't go back to work the next Monday. When he told this to his supervisor, he was referred to the company psychologist, who sent him to a psychiatrist at Kaiser.

The message he got from the psychiatrist once again demonstrated the Institute's uniqueness: it's your problem, the psychiatrist said, and if you want to keep your job, you better solve it.

WHERE'S MY NEWSPAPER?

In These Times will publish biweekly over the summer. Our next issue, Vol. 4, No. 28, will be dated June 18, 1980. Weekly publication will resume with the issues dated Aug. 27, 1980.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, third week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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This issue (Vol. 4, No. 27) published June 4, 1980, for newsstand sales June 4-17, 1980.

IN THESE TIMES

Unions tackle 'bankers' budget'

By David Moberg

NEW YORK

IN THE FIVE YEARS SINCE NEW York City was plunged into financial crisis by bankers dumping its municipal bonds, the city has made substantial progress in putting its financial house in order. The cost has been high to city workers—with nearly 70,000 jobs dropped and wages held down. New York residents, especially the poor and lower-income workers, also have paid a steep price in reduced benefits in health and hospitals, the schools, the city colleges, social services, police and other areas. But with expenditures held down, short-term debt slashed from a high of 83 percent to 3 percent of operating expenses and revenue creeping upwards—despite the failure of the state and federal governments to provide much expected aid—Mayor Ed Koch can now project a balanced budget for the next fiscal year, even though it offers an unpalatable diet for the city.

New York has not completely solved its financial problems. It will have trouble returning to the bond market in 1982 for long-term capital borrowing. It remains the victim of federal urban policy, or the lack of one, and the captive of outside supervisors of its affairs, from the state and federal governments to the Emergency Financial Control Board. Banks and bondholders continue to demand service cutbacks and a tough attitude toward city employees.

Business interests alone have not had to share in the hardship of the past five years. Banks, corporations and investors have even profited handsomely from the crisis. Interest rates have been lush and the notes secured. Business taxes have been cut dramatically and new tax abatements and concessions offered.

But as the transit strike this spring demonstrated, municipal workers are growing angrier at the cuts in real income that they have suffered. Now two coalitions of unions—one representing 43,000 police, fire, corrections, sanitation and other "uniformed" workers, the other representing around 240,000 municipal employees, principally members of American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees District Council 37 (DC37), the United Federation of Teachers, Teamsters, Service Employees and various officers' organizations—are demanding wage increases that surpass or match the transit settlement, which provided an estimated 22 percent pay increase over two years. That contrasts sharply with the 4 percent annual increase that Koch included in his budget, which the city council must act on by June 12. Most of the contracts expire June 30.

Since the near-bankruptcy, New York's municipal workers have accepted substantial attrition in the workforce, deferred pay, modest wage increases, and many changes in work rules. Inflation, as a result, has taken its toll: a survey by DC37 showed losses in real income over the past five years ranging from 11 percent for a nurse's aide to 23 percent for an engineer. Although New York city pay rates still rank fairly high compared to other major cities, according to a recent Urban Institute study, when income is adjusted for differences in cost of living, New York ranked 10th out of the 12 cities surveyed, near or below the average in all categories. DC37 calculated that the families of 20 to 30 percent of its members earn less than the Bureau of Labor Statistics lower-level budget and another 45 percent earn less than the intermediate budget.

The city's first offer to the coalitions was a mixture of cash lump-sum payments and pay rate increases; continuation of the annual \$750 cash payment that was



Rou Merrill

Koch's budget wreaks havoc on the poor to please the bond market and contributors. Tired of losses, workers demand pay catch-up.

part of the last contract, an additional 2 percent lump-sum payment the first year of the contract and 1 percent the second year, and two pay increases, 5 percent in the first year and 4 percent in the second, although both would go into effect at the beginning of the second quarter of the contract. DC37 researchers estimate the cash value of that proposal at roughly one-third that of the transit settlement.

The contract talks are complicated by the extreme vagaries of budgeting. First, the city is dependent on state and federal funds that are up in the air. The state has allocated some \$70 million less aid than the city expected, and Carter's revised budget slashed revenue sharing, although the administration promised to allocate other special aid to the cities. Shortly after Governor Hugh Carey called for an open Democratic convention, the Carter administration claimed the state owed the federal government \$345 million in disputed Medicaid payments—threatening further cuts for New York City. Then nobody knows precisely what revenues will come in, especially with a recession underway.

City and union negotiators are now fighting about just how fat or lean the budget really is, with the union generally maintaining there is lots of hidden money available. They also are fighting over

Koch's decision, a year earlier than expected, to balance the budget according to "generally accepted accounting principles," familiarly known as GAAP. GAAP requires the city to stop drawing money out of its long-range capital budget to pay operating expenses and to charge against the current budget all pension costs incurred during the year, not simply those paid out. Bruce McIver, director of the city office of labor relations, argues that even if the city didn't go to GAAP it would still have little extra money for wage increases, even though the early shift to GAAP added a \$300 million burden to the proposed operating budget.

"I can identify \$1.1 billion over the next two years that could be made available for wage increases," Alan Viani, DC37 director of research and negotiations, says. "There's more, but it's hidden. How much more I don't know yet." The city says there's only \$350 million. The unions say something close to the transit settlement would require \$1.3 to \$1.5 billion. "There isn't a ghost of a chance of exceeding [the transit settlement]," Viani says. "The money isn't there."

The initial wide variance in city and union proposals is in large part political. When the technicians from each side

meet, a mutually knowledgeable compromise takes shape. Now that the union is established and more sophisticated, DC37 executive director Victor Gotbaum said, "on the negative side, you know too much. It's an impeding factor. I know the city numbers. I know what to believe and what not to believe.... You know that much, and your negotiations lose a lot of flavor. When you've got all the pieces, some of the romanticism goes out of it."

It's not as if Koch couldn't make things a bit more complicated. During the transit strike he rushed to the Brooklyn Bridge to cheerlead against the union. His office of labor relation has prepared a detailed strike manual including instructions for bringing in other government employees, volunteers, private contractors and temporary workers as strikebreakers. And one of Koch's closest friends and major labor adviser is David Margolis, president of Colt Industries, who has conducted a tough and dirty strikebreaking effort against the Machinists at Menasco Industries.

"I don't know what to think about Koch," Gotbaum says, although he also labels the mayor a "crude, anti-labor guy." "My hope is that he allows his chief negotiators to negotiate. They know the difficulties. We know the difficulties. If he plays to the crowd, if he listens to Dave Margolis, then it's going to be another scenario."

Money is the key issue, but the hardest nut in the dispute may be the form of payment. The unions want the money in rate increases, which will also raise pensions and the rate base for the next contract. The city wants to avoid those long-term commitments and argues that even if it has some money available, much of it is a one-time surplus that will not necessarily recur.

The unions also want cost-of-living increases for pensioners (although ultimately that will be decided in the state legislature, not at the bargaining table) and special wage boosts for professional and technical employees (which McIver said the city was likely to grant, since it is getting harder to keep highly trained staff on the city payroll).

The city will push for work rule concessions and "buy-backs" if the unions press for a transit-level contract, and it will threaten further layoffs and service cutbacks. "We are very close to the point where in order to go further in terms of our offer, it might force us into further cutbacks," McIver said. "We can't continue to pare down our essential services and use that as a device for funding labor settlements." In response, the union will argue that better safety procedures and "risk management" could save \$200 million a year.

The uniformed services.

The uniformed services are likely to push harder and could win more than the non-uniformed coalition. Many police and firefighters are upset that their pay and working conditions have fallen behind their suburban New York counterparts. "There will be a settlement better than transit or else there will be a strike on July 1," Nick Chiarkis, administrative assistant to Patrolmen's Benevolent Association president Charles Peterson, said. "There's no way any rank-and-file cop or fireman will vote for less than 10 percent and 10 percent, and they might not go for that."

A union election on June 6 has added pressure for a hard line. Peterson's opponent, for example, wants to threaten a strike not on July 1 but rather just before the Democratic convention in August.

DC37 has had its own internal disputes as well. Gotbaum had been planning to challenge national president Jerry Wurf

Continued on page 6.

Break-in at anti-nuke HQ

NEW YORK—Someone wanted to disrupt the April anti-nuclear protests in Washington, D.C.

On April 28 over 300 people were arrested in a "blockade" of the Pentagon. A legal rally April 26 and the civil disobedience action were organized by the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World, made up of more than 350 anti-nuclear, peace, women's and labor groups.

In the early morning of April 25, Coalition staffer Nora Lumley, who had been coordinating the Pentagon action, was awakened by a man in her bedroom rifling through papers. He ran out of the house, which was shared by other staff members. No valuables were missing, but the Coalition's checkbooks and important financial records were gone.

Although the demonstrations proceeded as planned, two Coalition staffers had to spend most of the day before the rally at the bank. The effects are still being felt: the Coalition has a large debt to repay and is trying to reconstruct the key contributors list among the stolen papers.

So far police investigation has not uncovered any suspects or leads. The personal contents of a stolen knapsack were retrieved a day later from a nearby construction site but the Coalition's checkbooks and financial records are still missing. Police have little evidence to follow since there were no signs of forced entry.

Because of the burglar's unusual interest in checks and files, Coalition member Donna Warnock of the Syracuse Peace Council suspects he was working for the government or a right-wing group.

"There is an effort," she said, "by the nuclear elite—government and industry—to harass political dissidents." She named the Department of Energy, the Pentagon (the focal point of the protest) and the conservative U.S. Labor Party. Warnock has documented many abuses in her book *Nuclear Power and Civil Liberties* and she's not surprised that the police have found little to investigate. "If it was the government, the police don't want to find out who did it."

—Susan Jaffe

The hazards of a TV expose

How investigative can a journalist get before advertisers pull the plug? A recent Minneapolis incident suggests—not very.

In March the CBS affiliate in Minneapolis, WCCO, aired one of those 60 Minutes-y we're-investigative-journalists documentaries. This one was about one of the quietest corporate giants in the metro area—Cargill, grain dealer and kingpin of American agribusiness.

The documentary charged that Cargill was arranging sales to Iran during the hostage crisis and has disregarded (through its overseas outlets) the recent embargo on grain shipments to the Soviet Union.

Cargill, which had refused to provide information or perspective during the filming, responded. A 16-page booklet presenting the company's point of view came out five days after the documentary aired. Other food corporations rallied publicly to Cargill's defense.

Of greater importance to WCCO, however, was that one of the documentary series' major advertisers, Northwestern Bell Telephone, withdrew its support from the series.

Did one big corporation help out another, in a cautionary gesture to the local media? The Bell people deny any such reading of the situation. But they admit they don't like sponsoring something that controversial.

"We wouldn't attempt to censor any



A Nestle billboard ad in Rhodesia.

Nick Allen

Baby's bottle battle: Round 3

Infant formula companies in the Third World were challenged at the recent annual meeting of the World Health Assembly, the governing body of the World Health Organization. A resolution calling for an "international code of conduct for an appropriate marketing of breast milk substitute" was passed with the final code to be presented at next year's WHO meeting.

At a meeting on infant nutrition sponsored by WHO and UNICEF last October, delegates had recommended an international code. Infant formula companies such as Nestle and American Home Products then put a powerful international lobbying machine in motion. When INFANT and other international groups such as the International Baby Foods Action Network released a model code at the Assembly, corporate lobbyists argued strenuously

against it.

Countries led by the U.S. and United Kingdom attempted to weaken the resolution, while India, Algeria and the Nordic countries worked to strengthen it. The final code can still be altered by the Secretary General.

INFANT continues to boycott Nestle products, and by now a dozen countries have active boycott campaigns. INFANT also urges boycotting Nestle-owned Stouffer hotel and restaurant chains.

A bill that would ban all overseas sales promotion of American formula, is sponsored by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.). The Infant Nutrition Act (HR4093) has been stalled while Congress awaited the outcome of the WHO.

—Fred Clarkson

The Inter-Press Service provided information for this report.

show, even if we could," a Bell spokesman told local reporter John Carman, "but we do feel we ought to know what we're buying."

WCCO's general manager James Rupp agreed. The documentary, he was quoted in *Variety* as saying, "was counterproductive to Bell's marketing. We should have advised Bell the program would be controversial."

Many reassurances later, WCCO claims the investigative series, *The Moore Report*, will go on tackling the tough issues. Perhaps, say, a report on business relationships between Bell and Cargill?

—Pat Aufderheide

Evacuation at Love Canal

In the wake of test results showing a higher than normal rate of chromosome damage among residents of Love Canal, the federal government on May 23 began evacuating residents.

Hooker Chemicals and Plastics Corporation had dumped wastes in the area from 1947 to 1952. In recent years incidents of cancer, spontaneous abortion and nervous disorders spurred protests and calls for investigation by Love Canal residents.

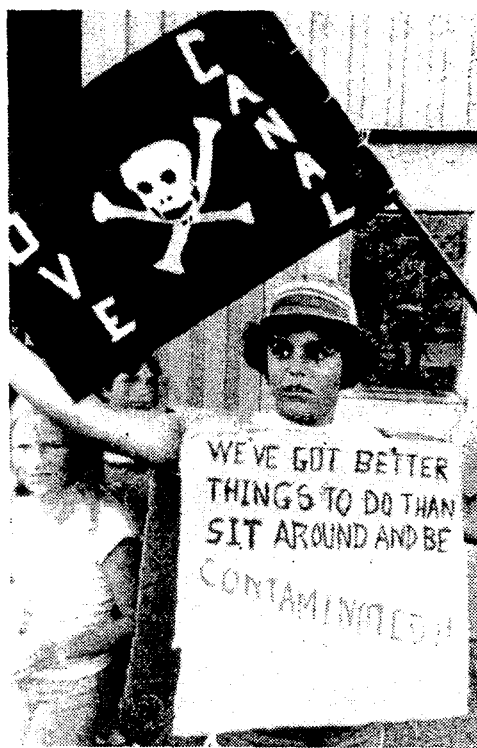
Finally the Environmental Protection Agency began evacuation proceedings of the 2,000 affected residents. The order came after two independent studies confirmed nerve and chromosomal damage, and two years after the first evacuation of the central area of Love Canal. The federal government plans to spend \$3 to \$5 million in relocating families for up

to a year, and to add the cost to the \$124.5 suit it presently has against Hooker Chemical.

The victory, for Love Canal residents, was not only bitter but partial. The evacuation is temporary. No arrangements have yet been made for buying the victims' homes, and some look bleakly towards months of hotel life.

Further, different branches of government are quarrelling about costs. Although New York governor Cary is willing to contribute state funds to the evacuation, he demands that the federal government purchase the homes. The federal government claims that it has no legal authority to do so.

—Pat Aufderheide



Love Canal child protestor.

Secrecy in public charity

Nearly a third of the country's largest foundations provide no information to the public about their activities, according to a report released May 28 by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy.

The study solicited information from the country's 208 largest foundations—which receive tax exemptions and distribute billions of dollars a year.

Fourteen foundations, all with assets exceeding \$25 million, have unlisted phone numbers.

The lack of public accountability this study revealed was called "appalling" by Robert Bothwell, executive director of the NCRP.

Bothwell stressed the importance for foundations to hold public meetings and to meet with the kinds of people and organizations "not found at the country club or in the board room."

Findings of the study are available from the NCRP, 810.18th St., NW, #408, Washington, DC 20006.

—Pat Aufderheide

Voting for jobs for peace

Campaigns to put "Jobs for Peace" initiatives on local ballots this November are underway in Boston, Detroit, Rock Island, Ill., Flint, Mich., and Oakland, Calif. A prototype Jobs for Peace initiative won by 107,000 votes to 69,000 in San Francisco in November 1978. The San Francisco model demanded "that the federal government cease spending our tax money for wasteful military purposes and instead use it to provide the jobs and services that our people so desperately need, thereby creating jobs with peace by cutting the military budget."

For information write: Committee to Implement the Jobs with Peace Initiative, 2990 22nd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

—Jim Weinstein

Church, labor talk coalition

Over 200 members of labor and religious organizations met May 14-15 in Covington, Ky., to discuss how to strengthen local religion-and-labor coalitions. The conference was sponsored by nine labor bodies (including the AFL-CIO Industrial Unions and Building Trades Departments, UAW, UFW and state and local labor councils) and several church groups (including the Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry, National Federation of Priests Councils, Methodist Federation for Social Action, Southerners for Economic Justice and the National Farm Workers Ministry). Conference participants were overwhelmingly Catholic, reflecting the historically greater concentration of blue-collar union members in Catholic churches. About a third of the participants (and virtually all of the handful of black and Latino participants) were from the labor movement.

The conference focused on right-wing attacks on workers' rights, labor and religion's common commitment to social and economic justice and the rebuilding of local communities.

Msgr. Higgins of the U.S. Catholic Conference highlighted tensions in labor/religious relations, including the hiring of union-busting consultants by church-run hospitals and charities and labor's tendency to take church support for boycotts for granted.

—Carole Collins

IN THE NATION

CIVIL RIGHTS

Florida justice had failed for years

By Manning Marable

M I A M I

Manning Marable went to Florida for *IN THESE TIMES* to cover race relations in Dade County. This is his second report.

FEW WOULD HAVE PREDICTED that Miami's black community—only 15 percent of Dade County's 1.6 million people—would be the first to shatter the calm facade of Afro-American political life since the mid-1970s. Detroit's unemployment rate, for example, is almost twice as high as Miami's. Racial unrest has been more apparent in the cities of the industrial Northeast, where factory closings and the fiscal crisis of local governments have caused cutbacks in public-sector jobs and critical social services. But for a variety of reasons, the political economy of racism in Miami made the city ripe for rebellion.

There is an old perception here that—as in California and New York state—there are really two Floridas, divided by economics, politics and culture. Northern Florida is predominantly rural, agricultural and conservative in its social and political outlook. Southern Florida has been viewed as a haven for northern retirees, an urban, liberal and cosmopolitan center of tourism and international commerce.

Thirty years ago, northern Florida was the bedrock of opposition to New Deal economic liberalism and racial reform. Claude Pepper, the state's leading progressive, lost two Senate bids in 1950 and 1958 respectively when he was trounced in the northern counties of the state. In 1964, Miami's Democratic Mayor Robert King High was denounced as "the candidate of the NAACP," and lost the gubernatorial race to Jacksonville Republican Claude Kirk. In the south, Miami's heavily black and Jewish populations provided a solid constituency for Florida's liberal candidates; in the north, the cultural folk heroes were George Wallace and Lester Maddox.

Race riots were common and periodic occurrences in both sections of Florida. In 1921, a white mob gathered at Ocoee to stop blacks from registering to vote. In the end, historian G.B. Tindall observes, "44 blocks of Negro property were reduced to a rubble like that of a Rheims or a Louvain." In 1923 whites "ran amuck" through Rosewood, torching a black church and six houses, and leaving five blacks and two whites dead. In one celebrated incident during the Great Depression, a black man accused of murdering a white girl in the north Florida town of Marianna was seized from jail by a white mob. A "carnival" of sadism followed, as whites tortured, sexually mutilated and slowly murdered the man. After dragging the corpse through the streets, encouraging the town's white children to inflict "further indignities," the body was finally hanged on the courthouse lawn.

The reasons for sporadic violence against blacks were, in varying degrees, economic and political. North Florida's booming lumber and turpentine camps depended heavily on black peonage or forced labor that differed little from chattel slavery. Under a Florida state law of 1919, "any person who promised or contracted labor and refused to perform it after an advance was guilty of a misdemeanor." The state legally sided with the corporations, some of which were engaged in a form of convict leasing through World War II.

Thus, many northern Florida blacks

"This smacks of racism," the judge remarked in one 1979 case of a cop who molested an 11-year-old black girl.

saw Miami as a relatively safe and politically progressive community, where they could exercise their right to vote without fear and find employment without Jim Crow restrictions.

Changing realities.

The north vs. south dichotomy began to break down 10 to 15 years ago, due to rapidly changing demographic, political, and economic realities. Central Florida cities like Orlando began to draw tourist dollars from older resort towns like Miami. The new affluence of the gulfport region of Tampa Bay, combined with the rapid fiscal expansion of Jacksonville, gave the entire state a more uniformly urban caste. The demise of segregation laws in the mid-to-late 1960s meant that blacks in northern Florida could exercise their constitutional rights without being beaten or imprisoned.

"New South" politicians in the Jimmy Carter mold, like Reubin Askew of Pensacola and Lawton Chiles of Lakeland, combined a populist style with a pro-corporate economic agenda to transcend the traditional regional split. In the 1972 Senate race, for example, Chiles carried every white precinct in both Jacksonville and Miami—doing poorly only in both cities' black communities. The growing influx of anti-Castro Cub-

ans in the late 1950s and early 1960s neutralized the growing influence of the black vote in local and statewide politics.

Recent economic trends in Dade County reinforced the prevailing sense within the black community that it was gradually losing whatever influence it had acquired in earlier decades. In the most recent recession of 1973-75, the percentage of black men over the age of 16 in Miami who worked throughout the year (72 percent) was consistently below the percentage for white Miami men (75.2 percent), and lagged further behind the overall regional average (79.2 percent) and the national average (81.9 percent). In terms of unemployment, blacks experienced twice the rate of joblessness as whites.

Among those who were marginally employed, the number of weeks between jobs was once again greater for blacks than whites. Even Miami's black female population, working at lower wages and lower status jobs, had an unemployment rate about 50 percent higher than that of white women. Incomes for all blacks, regardless of education, tend to lag behind regional and national averages of other black workers. According to Urban League of Miami statistics the median income for blacks in Liberty City, Overton and Coconut Grove is \$5,600—scarcely above the federal government's poverty index figure of \$5,500.

The sudden influx of finance (and drug-related) capital into Dade County during the 1970s tended to increase black's economic anxieties. One 1977 Survey of *Minority-Owned Business Enterprises* published by the Bureau of the Census confirms the fragility of the city's black entrepreneurial strata. Of the county's 2,148 black-owned firms, only 380 possess at least one paid employee. Only about one dozen firms with paid employees were involved in manufacturing, transportation, wholesale trade, and/or real estate. The most numerous black-owned businesses in Miami are retail stores of the "mom-and-pop" variety. On average, the larger ones em-

ploy four to five people and have gross receipts of about \$311,000 annually. The total gross receipts for all Dade County black-owned businesses in 1977 came to \$94,895,000, or approximately \$44,200 per business per year—hardly an amount to make the Bebe Rebozos of Miami Beach shudder at the competition.

The present crisis in Miami's race relations must be viewed against this background of growing political conformity between southern and northern Florida, the decline of the black community's economic prospects and the influx of a highly mobile and economically competitive ethnic bloc. Yet even with these factors taken into account, no rebellion would have occurred this May without a series of miscarriages of justice at the hands of the Dade County prosecutor's office. The missing element for a racial confrontation was provided by a history of failed democracy in Florida's judicial and law enforcement systems.

Long before McDuffie, a series of incidents occurred to spark the outrage of the black community. In early 1979, Dade County police invaded the home of Nathaniel LaFleur, a school teacher. Supposedly in pursuit of a drug dealer, the police beat LaFleur and his son viciously and then charged both men with resisting arrest. Later it was announced that Dade County officers had raided the wrong address. County prosecutor (state attorney) Janet Reno, a member of the NAACP and a well-known "liberal" Democrat, concluded that the officers should not be brought to trial. Only after intense public pressure did Reno present LaFleur's case to a grand jury.

Also in 1979, Willie Jones, then a Florida highway patrolman, sexually molested an 11-year-old black girl in the back seat of his squad car. Records obtained from the circuit court of the 11th judicial district for Dade County, dated April 4, 1979, reveal a shocking pattern of collusion between the county prosecutor's office and Jones' attorney. In

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Blacks in Dade County certainly had other economic and political grievances, but it was the shocking record of the county prosecutor that turned these grievances to rebellion.

N.Y.



Paul Merrill

Continued from page 3.

at the June AFSCME convention, but changed his mind last October after Wurf managed to undercut Gotbaum's support in other parts of the country and accentuated opposition within the New York district council as well. (His withdrawal, Gotbaum said frankly, "came about because I couldn't beat him.") Although the dispute mainly affects middle-level leaders and not the membership, some disagreements persist. Wurf ally James Butler, president of the health and hospitals local, for example, strongly opposes a strike, even though the official DC37 position is that a strike may be necessary. Butler is still resentful over what he saw as inadequate support for his local when it was on strike in 1978, and he claims that his members can't afford to miss a paycheck.

But as Jack Bigel, economic consultant to the union coalition, noted, "If one aspires to the transit settlement, then one has to meet all of the conditions, and that includes an 11-day strike.... Even if we find the \$1.5 billion [needed to match the transit settlement], would the mayor just easily give the settlement that he opposed,

even in the face of an 11-day strike?" Since the question answers itself and the municipal coalition is ill-situated for a strike, it will probably end up settling for a 7 to 8 percent increase annually, one insider speculates.

Tunnel vision.

Koch's program is more of the same—declining services (and with that a deteriorating, physical infrastructure), austerity for municipal workers, catering to the creditors. "We are directly cutting into and eroding the quality of education," city council member Ruth Messenger says. "We have decided that libraries are just not worth maintaining. Essentially we're eliminating all public health services." But the problem is not simply that Koch plans to close two hospitals serving Harlem and East Harlem (even though the community has a plan that would bring federal money to help operate one of them), not simply that Koch wants to close 40 schools and continue to raise the class size.

"The city is not really looking at other sources of revenue," Messenger says. Worst of all it is unnecessarily, unproductively handing out tax breaks and abatements. Paul DuBrul, co-author of *The Abuse of Power*, argues that there is still \$1 billion annually in uncollected taxes and other lost revenue that could ease the traumas considerably, even in a \$13.5 billion budget. Also, budget cuts can actually undermine efficiency: new capital expenditures (for example, more containerization for garbage rather than cutting garbage truck crews) could improve services and reduce costs; hiring more parking meter attendants would bring in seven times their salary; one-man patrol cars can actually be less efficient than two-man cars; and the greatly increased contracting-out of custodial services in the long run is often more costly.

"There's no social creativity," DuBrul says. "Koch has tunnel vision, and that is he wants to create a 'positive business climate' in New York. That means literally saying and doing only what business wants to see done.... This is a banker's budget that wreaks havoc with the poor population of the city in order to please the bond market. It's Ed Koch impressing his potential campaign contributors." DuBrul criticizes the city unions for not allying with affected communities and providing an alternative that would demand more from the business and banking interests and provide more for city residents. He also thinks it would be dumb to rush back to the bond market on a large scale until it is restructured in a way that reduces dependency on the very rich investors finding profitable tax shelters for surplus cash.

New York's problems stem not only from its creditors but also from its potential saviors—the state and federal governments. New York continues to be burdened with Medicaid and aid to dependent children (AFDC) costs not borne by other major cities. Aid from the federal government has not kept pace with inflation, and new responsibilities—such as programs for handicapped children—are mandated without necessary funding.

"The city's made an awful lot of progress," says Ray Horton, former executive director of the Temporary Commission on City Finances. "I don't think we're facing a bankruptcy, but the central dynamic that has produced an unbalanced budget for a decade hasn't changed—that is the problem of intergovernmental transfers [federal and state payments]. As long as that hasn't been changed, we can look forward to much of the same—recurring budget deficits, difficulty getting back into the capital markets, solution of budget problems by reduction of the workforce."

Horton argues for increasing worker productivity, but he emphasizes another solution: "I would put as much pressure as possible on people who hold the city's debt to stretch the debt out, to reduce the short-term cost of interest.... The

mayor could begin to say, 'I've got a choice. Pay off the creditors or cut employees and cut services. It isn't right that we pay 8, 9 or 10 percent to creditors and cut services. I'm asking you [creditors] to stretch that debt.' That would get a guffaw. Then he could threaten to go into bankruptcy."

But Koch—who DuBrul calls a "white collar Frank Rizzo" for his pitch to the white "middle class" is unlikely to demonstrate his vaunted toughness against the financial elite. As the city's budget and collective bargaining indicate, New York's fiscal crisis continues to be an excuse to zap the poor and municipal workers. It could have been an opportunity for a creative coalition of municipal government, city workers and needy neighborhood groups. But the bankers won the first round and are still winning. ■

Miami

Continued from page 5.

this case, assistant state attorney David Rothman and Terrence J. McWilliams, attorney for the defendant, concurred that Jones should be granted probation and should seek psychiatric aid on an out-patient basis. McWilliams informed Circuit Judge Jon I. Gordon that Jones had received a new job as an assistant editor for a small newspaper, and that he was making progress. Gordon snapped, "What would your position be if this defendant was black and the victim was white?" Gordon reminded both attorneys that the defendant had engaged in another sexual incident with a 15-year-old girl only two years before.

Without pause, McWilliams justified leniency "because he is a police officer, not because he is white." Gordon replied, "That is equally bad, [because] that is protecting one's own...." The judge concluded, "To me, this case... smacks of racism, and I am not so certain that the state attorney's office would be asking the same arrangement if this defendant was black and the victim was a young white girl. It [appears] to me to be in part some sort of sweetheart deal that I could not be a party to." Gordon promptly withdrew himself from the case.

According to attorney Willie Gary, president of the Florida chapter of the National Bar Association, the county prosecutor "failed to inform the new judge of Judge Gordon's real reason for withdrawing from the case. Having been misled by the state attorney's office, the new judge then adopted the recommended sentence of probation." Subsequently, the second judge ordered an investigation into the conduct and procedures of Reno's office. Throughout the proceedings, inadequate note was taken of the condition of the black girl, who still remains under intense psychiatric care.

On Sept. 2, 1979, 21-year-old Randy Heath was shot by an off-duty. Hialeah police officer, Larry Shockley. The

young black man was urinating outside a warehouse building when Shockley placed a cocked revolver against his skull. The gun discharged "accidentally," killing Heath. Hialeah police first attempted to make the shooting look like an unsuccessful burglary attempt. But more than two months lapsed before the county prosecutor's office sheduled an inquest. That April, the grand jury found Shockley innocent. Inexplicably, in mid-May the same grand jury called for Shockley's discharge from the police force. The *Miami-Times* editorialized only three days before the rebellion, "This is little comfort to the Heath family and to the black community.... Another black man has been killed by a white policeman and not a damn thing has been done about it."

Finally, Dr. Johnny Jones, a leading black educator and superintendent of Dade County schools, was charged with using school appropriations to purchase plumbing fixtures for his new home. According to attorney Gary, Reno "systematically excluded all otherwise qualified blacks from [Jones'] jury." On April 30, Jones was convicted by an all-white jury. The school board took the unprecedented step of suspending Jones before the decision was handed down. Once more, it appeared to most black Miamians that it was impossible "for a black to get a fair shake in Dade County." Not coincidentally, there are no black judges on the criminal bench in Dade County, nor are there any in the district courts of appeal.

When the McDuffie verdict came down, blacks throughout southern Florida and particularly Miami felt that they were victims of yet another "legal lynching." Without any share of the political or economic power in Dade County, they maintained only the illusion of democratic access to the legal system, and a few token representatives within the educational hierarchy. When these last illusions were finally smashed there was nothing left. ■

Manning Marable teaches political economy at the African Studies and Research Center, Cornell University. He is also executive director of Black Research Associates, a nonprofit center on the black movement.



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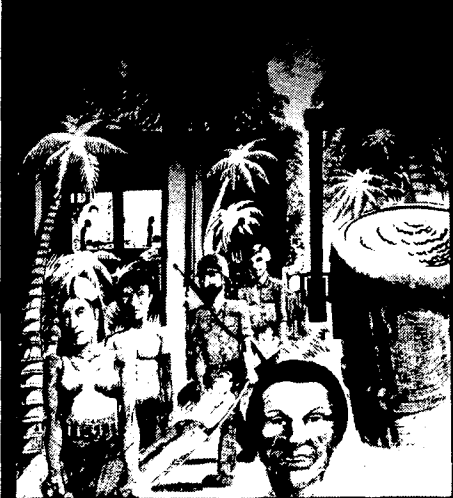
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IN THE WORLD

THE FAR EAST

Riots challenge martial law in Korea

By David Fleishman
with Lee Aitken

TOKYO

GOVERNMENT TROOPS MOVED into Kwangju, Korea, in the pre-dawn hours of May 27, ending a nine-day seizure of the city by student-led dissidents demanding an end to martial law. For several days a tank cordon surrounding Kwangju had been slowly closing in, allowing residents to pass through its lines in flight from the city of 800,000 and thereby isolating supporters of the uprising inside the cordon. Negotiations between city leaders and members of the Martial Law Command for a peaceful resolution of the takeover made no progress. On Sunday, May 25, two days before the military assault on Kwangju, the U.S. embassy in Seoul turned down a request to mediate the crisis.

The uprising began on May 18 when unarmed students took to the streets protesting a new wave of arrests and a further tightening of the martial law restrictions that have been in force since the assassination of President Park Chung Hee last October. Among those detained as a result of spreading worker and student protests this spring was Kim Dae Jung—a native of the Kwangju area and the most popular opposition leader.

The government attempted to quell the peaceful demonstrations of May 18, 19 and 20 by sending in its notorious Special Forces Airborne Brigade, the only military unit in Korea that operates independently of the U.S.-Korea Joint Security Command and so could be activated without the permission of U.S. commander John Wickham. The Brigade is the same unit that represented Korea in the Vietnam conflict (300,000 Koreans fought in the war, with as many as 50,000 on duty in Vietnam at any one time), where it earned a reputation for excessive brutality.

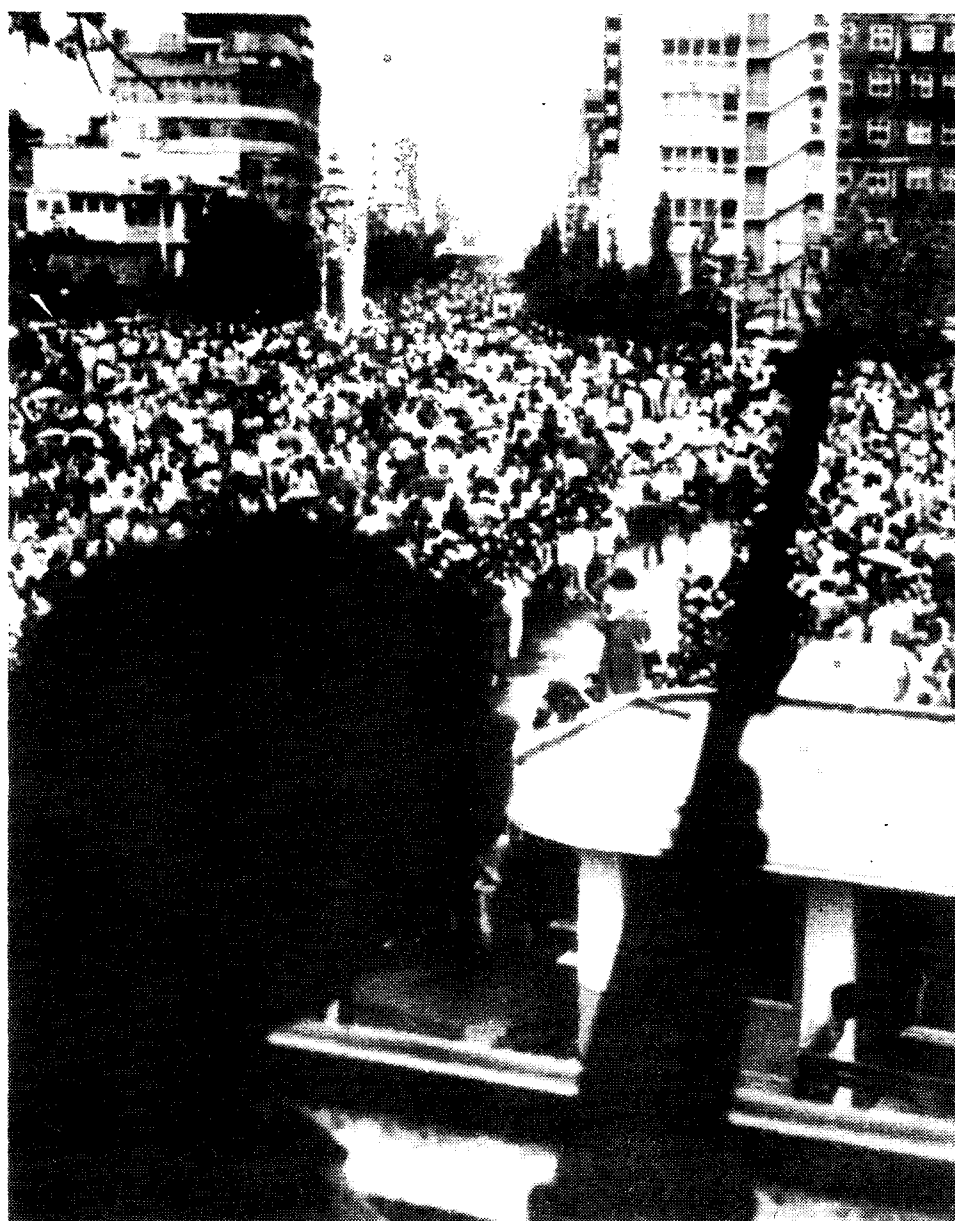
By all accounts, the Special Forces actions in Kwangju preserved that reputation. Church services in Tokyo and Seoul have confirmed reports of atrocities and indiscriminate use of force. Five high school girls were stripped and bayoneted to death in front of their classmates. A top-ranking Kwangju police officer who protested the excesses was shot on the spot and then beheaded.

As the city was swept by rumors of killing and beating, the demonstrators moved to arm themselves from police and army arsenals. The government, appalled by the escalation, withdrew the Special Forces, leaving the city temporarily in the hands of the demonstrators. (The Kwangju police, along with the Seoul police and other sectors of South Korea's regular security forces, which are made up largely of draftees, had been disbanded by the most trustworthy military units.)

The regular troops used to retake the city several days later were moved down from the DMZ with approval of the U.S. command, which covered their positions on the northern border. When a State Department official was later asked why the U.S. had approved the use of South Korea's troops against its own people, he said simply, "We had no choice," declining further comment.

Residents of Kwangju put the death toll for the uprising at more than 260—only 19 of those casualties occurred during the retaking of the city. It was the bloodiest protest yet.

The latest push for democracy in the South began to pick up momentum even before the assassination of Park Chung Hee last October—and the pace of op-



The uprising began when government troops moved to quell peaceful demonstrations against recent arrests.

Weeks of demonstrations and strikes around the country set the stage for armed confrontation in Kwangju.

position activity had quickened considerably in the few weeks before the Kwangju demonstrations.

Last July, barely one month after Jimmy Carter visited President Park, 120 women workers in Seoul staged a peaceful sit-down protest demanding long-overdue back wages. On Aug. 12, Park's capital security chief sent in 1,000 club-swinging riot police to disperse the demonstrators. One worker was killed. Dozens of others—as well as journalists and opposition New Democratic Party legislators—were hospitalized, jailed or deported to the countryside. Eight weeks later workers and students in the southern cities of Masan and Pusan fought police and burned government offices. By the end of October Park was dead, gunned down by his own hand-picked chief of security, Kim Jae Kyu.

Though Park's iron-fisted regime remained firmly in place after the killing, power had begun to shift. Dhoi Kyu Hah, the new president, promised to replace the Yushin constitution (which concentrates all state power in the hands of one person) without specifying when or how the change would come. The broadening opposition movement of workers, students and religious activists was split. Some took a wait-and-see approach, fearful of provoking a powerful new wave of repression under the state of martial law declared in the wake of Park's assassination. Others felt that they had waited and seen long enough. And the events of the last few months appeared to give them an opening.

In April, 10,000 coal miners in the town of Sabuk walked off their jobs and took over the town, demanding higher wages and the replacement of corrupt, government-appointed union bosses with a democratically elected leadership.

Around the same time, sweatshop laborers in Seoul's notorious Peace Market were sitting in for higher pay and union rank-and-file at the huge Doug Il textile plant staged a hunger strike in the office of the acting president of the government-run Korean Federation of Trade Unions. In Pusan, over 1,000 Dongkuk Steel Mill workers battled police and burned part of the factory, demanding better pay and a democratic union.

Seoul was on the spot. Leniency would only encourage more unrest, while undisguised repression could spark a full-fledged revolt.

When the Sabuk miners (who had all been through military training) took control of the town's national guard armory and its thousand rifles, the choice was clear. Instead of sending in troops, Seoul ordered in the provincial governor to cool things down.

Four days later, the miners emerged from negotiations with significant concessions. After securing guarantees of amnesty, they re-opened their town to government forces and went back to work.

The student movement.

While labor militancy grew, students were returning to the campuses for a new session. Before school opened in

March, student leaders had begun a campaign for campus reform. First, they demanded the dismissal of professors who were too closely tied to Park. In addition, they called for demilitarization of the campuses. Government-appointed "Student Defense Corps" authorities would be replaced by elected assemblies, and mandatory combat training (four hours a week on campus and a 10-day boot camp experience for freshmen) would be stopped.

When school opened in mid-March, campus leaders at Sungkyunkwan University unexpectedly announced a boycott of off-campus military training. Sungkyunkwan, a Confucian school in Seoul, stresses traditional values of obedience and patriotism. It was the first school scheduled to send its freshmen to this year's boot camp.

When marching orders came, over 60 percent of the called up students refused. Barely out of high school, they faced down direct orders. The government was startled.

The next scheduled training session was for Sogang University, a Jesuit school with a traditional affinity for the ruling class. Again, army orders met with determined resistance.

Seoul National University, the country's most prestigious, quickly followed suit. Students announced in advance that when their turn came, they'd refuse. Other schools, too, rose to the challenge.

In April, Education Minister Kim Ok Gil finally acted. She announced that off-campus military training would be re-evaluated, and that on-campus drill would be cut from four hours to two. Then she handed down immediate army induction orders for 80 Sungkyunkwan student leaders. Kim's stand exposed the split in the government between acquiescence and repression.

In Seoul, students took to the streets, clashing with police, demanding revocation of the induction orders. Support for the struggle spread further.

Beginning in early May, huge demonstrations were held on campuses across the country, and even in rural schools where there had never been any expression of dissent.

On May 2, only a week after the Sabuk miners went back to work, and only a few days before Seoul National University freshmen were to be marched off, over 12,000 students gathered at SNU. Student body chair Shim Chae Chol declared "a sacred war against South Korea's national enemy," a theme frequently heard in Seoul.

But that oft-repeated phrase now took on new meaning. Shim directed it not against the widely-feared communist North, but against the "remnants of the Yushin constitution," the men who'd shared Park Chung Hee's rule and the system they put in place.

Demands on May 2 shifted from campus democracy to the struggle for democracy in the nation as a whole. The rally of 12,000 took up chants on four points—an end to martial law; immediate revision of the old Yushin constitution; support for labor struggles; and complete freedom of the press.

Police surrounding the campus prepared to break things up as they were accustomed to, when students added two new chants: "Higher pay for police" and "Police deserve hazardous duty pay." The police held back, and the demonstration disbanded peacefully.

Demonstrations spread the next day. At Yonsei University in Seoul, students burned in effigy Prime Minister Shin Hyon Hwak, who was Park's economics

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Korea

Continued from page 7.

minister, and security boss General Chon Too Won. Yonsei's trustees issued a call for an end to martial law. Major newspapers, usually under tight government control, gave it prominent coverage, expressing tacit approval of the students' goals.

The lines are drawn.

The authorities were put on notice. Student uprisings brought down Syngman Rhee in 1960. Last year, student and

worker street actions led directly to Park's assassination. Things could get out of hand.

On May 9, after a week of demonstrations, Education Minister Kim cancelled the 80 induction orders. But she went on to condemn student leaders for "displaying a lack of concern for national security"—an accusation not taken lightly in South Korea.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding among the people, SNU campus activists changed their tactic of refusing military training. Now, freshmen would go to boot camp, to prove their loyalty, but they weren't giving up the struggle for democracy.

When buses came to take them away, SNU's freshmen were prepared. They

marched off accompanied by crowds of flag-waving supporters, belting out South Korea's national anthem. Thousands of leaflets were prepared, demanding democracy and declaring, "National Security can only be safeguarded by voluntary participation." Every time the buses stopped along their way, leaflets went out to the crowds in the streets.

After that, every day saw new demonstrations that affected most of South Korea's 85 campuses. Rising militancy was tempered by the awareness that the authorities would strike back, and strike hard, if they were pushed too far too fast.

Without warning, at midnight on May 12, General Chon's martial law troops mobilized, surrounding all key offices and media centers in Seoul. (President Choi Kyu Hah, a moderate inside the regime, was in the Middle East, so Chon was free to follow his own instincts.) Then, just as suddenly, his troops withdrew after only two hours.

But the students got the hint. Demonstrations for the rest of the night were called off.

The crackdown finally came on May 17, after Choi returned to Seoul. Martial law was extended. Censorship tightened. All political activity was banned. Campus leaders from two dozen schools were taken into custody, as were opposition leader Kim Dae Jung, and even Kim Jong Pil, the head of Park's Democratic Republican Party.

Too little, too late.

But though the government finally took harsh actions, it may have been too little, too late. In recent months virtually all the opposition in South Korea has become convinced that democracy will come only through struggle outside the established political system.

Faith in Choi's promises of democracy

had faded in December, when General Chon Too Won, a close protege of Park, staged a palace coup, moving his troops down from the DMZ to take over Seoul. He installed himself as the new strongman, purging veteran military brass who weren't tough enough, and issued stern warnings about moving too swiftly on untried paths.

All remaining illusions were laid to rest at the close of the trumped-up spy trial conducted by the new Chon government. The 73 defendants—whom the state prosecutor labelled the "South Korean National Liberation Front"—were all activists of the most moderate stripe. The general secretary of South Korea's Amnesty International, staff members of the League of Women Voters, the YMCA, the Catholic Farmers Organization, and the Christian Academy were all convicted of plotting to violently overthrow the government and escape to the North. The court handed down four death sentences, with long prison terms for the rest, persuading even the most optimistic believers that working through the system was not a viable option.

At the same time, the authorities' hesitancy to crack down on striking workers and students indicated that stepped-up resistance might not bring the dreaded repression of the past.

That conclusion was driven home when Korea's most popular political figure, Kim Dae Jung, publicly left the New Democratic Party. Until recently, there was hope in some quarters that Kim Dae Jung (who out-polluted Park Chung Hee in the country's last election), and NDP head Kim Young Sam would join forces in the elections promised for sometime next year. If they did, one of them was certain to become president.

Kim Young Sam, current chair of the NDP, is seen by many as a political opportunist, not someone who the movement for democracy will rally behind. He cooperated earlier in his career with Park and is closely tied to big business. Since Park's fall, some of South Korea's industrial giants have turned their financial attention in his direction, leading many to believe that he's being groomed for the role of a moderate to replace Park's Yushin gang. That suspicion was strengthened when he was the only one of the major party or faction leaders not arrested in the May 17 crackdown. Now many feel that Kim Dae Jung is being set up for execution by the government, which in the past few days has publicly charged him with funding and abetting "communist" elements in Kwangju.

A worse tomorrow.

Park Chung Hee always held out the promise of a better tomorrow. Today, with South Korea's export-based economy slumping under the strain of oil imports, tomorrow doesn't look very promising. Even upper-class support for the regime is crumbling.

In all this conflict, it is harder than ever for the U.S. to keep a low profile. Earlier this spring, rumors in Seoul had it that Washington wanted to see a new party, with a clean image, led by Prime Minister Shin and strongman Chon. More recent speculation ran toward American support for the NDP, with Chon still playing a major role.

While the U.S. is holding its cards close, certain things are clear. South Korea's 600,000-man army is still commanded by an American and supported by 40,000 GIs. (This year, South Korea's army is costing American taxpayers more than during the last five years combined.) In addition, while international loans are drying up, due to Seoul's risky position these days, U.S. Ex-Im loans keep on coming, largely for Westinghouse nuclear reactors and Cargill wheat.

U.S. Ambassador Gleysteen occasionally speaks about "encouraging the democratic process," but only in the vaguest terms. Until the massive May 17 crackdown he'd never condemned continued martial law.

It's clear that the government in Seoul may soon need even more propping up—and that either Carter or Reagan would find it hard to refuse.

David Fleishman writes for *IN THESE TIMES* from Japan.

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ISRAEL

The hawks are now firmly in control

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

THE DAY EZER WEIZMAN resigned as defense minister, workers at El Al walked off their jobs for the first time since a "new order" was supposedly established at Israel's national airline in late 1979 under a threat of closure from tough-talking finance minister Yigael Hurvitz, then fresh on the job. The airline strike lasted less than a day and its timing was only coincidental. But the sharp reminder that, despite promised changes, El Al is losing money faster than ever—and will not be closed—provided a clue as to Weizman's motives for quitting over a budgetary dispute rather than over his more serious differences with the Menachem Begin line on such questions as settlements in the occupied territories and strategies in negotiations with Egypt on autonomy for the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Weizman felt, apparently, that he would have been more vulnerable to political damage had he cited policy differences. That would have forced him to go out on a more dovish limb, alienating other military men who have rallied to his side on the issue of money. It was easier to abandon Hurvitz's sinking economic policy, thus placing a safe bet that it will continue to sink and, with it, the Likud government.

But the resignation itself will probably not bring the government down. In a series of hints and threats over the last months, Weizman had tried to persuade some of the cabinet's more moderate members to leave with him. But his statements supporting early elections in mid-April left him isolated within his own party; with polls pointing to a decisive labor victory if the vote were held now, Likud leaders and their coalition allies, no matter how divided on personal and political questions, are resolved to hold on and hope for the best. They wisely did not force Weizman out and make him a martyr—they let him stew in his own juice until he clearly had to quit or risk damaging his own credibility.

Now that Weizman has taken the plunge, prospects for agreement with Egypt on Palestinian autonomy are even more remote than before. Weizman, dissatisfied with the government's approach in the past, had abstained from personal involvement in the Camp David talks until recently when he agreed to join, perhaps in one last attempt to win support for a more flexible policy on settlements and on the powers to be granted governing councils.

But with the hawkish Hurvitz, who opposes camp David, back in the government, and Yitzhak Shamir, who abstained on last June's peace treaty vote, having replaced relatively dovish Moshe Dayan as foreign minister, Weizman's efforts stood little chance of success.

Now Begin is proposing that Shamir replace the Camp David process with a takes over as foreign minister. Ariel Sharon and Moshe Arens have also been mentioned for the posts—all are ultra-hawks.

The pretense of progress.

Even before Weizman turned in his resignation, the autonomy negotiators' efforts to show even an appearance of progress by the May 26 target date specified in the March 1979 peace treaty were stalled. The talks may soon resume, but it is clear that all the issues of substance will be postponed for much longer—before the extension there were indications that only agreement on a few general points was being sought, and a blueprint for a "continuing committee" (that could resume discussion under a different name after a skeletal autonomy regime is inaugurated) was being drawn.



Carter will put no pressure on Israel in the autonomy talks until after his own election—and may wait for the Likud to be unseated by a more cooperative Labor-led government.

The most basic reason for stalemate is Israel's refusal to countenance anything that could be seen as possibly leading to its loss of control over the West Bank and establishment of a Palestinian state. Most members of the ruling coalition still openly state that they see autonomy for the Palestinians as a means to prevent the creation of a separate state in the territories. Begin, during his talks in April with Jimmy Carter, was widely reported to have shown flexibility on some procedural questions, but absolutely refused Carter's request for a freeze on settlements, for inclusion of Jerusalem in the autonomy plan, and for an agreement to grant legislative or security power to the autonomy councils.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's suspension of the talks was his response to the Begin stonewall. But he has little alternative to resumption in hopes of salvaging even the smallest agreement, needed to keep his external and internal critics at bay. Sadat tried to put the heat on Israel and the U.S. through brinkmanship, seeking another Camp David-style summit and loudly insisting that May 26 was a deadline, not merely target date. Now that all that flurry has produced nothing, Egypt will be harder pressed to revive the autonomy talks, if only to prevent a threatened European and Saudi Arabian-backed diplomatic initiative to replace the Camp David process with a new one including the PLO.

Unless it gives up completely on autonomy and lends its weight to such a new initiative, Egypt will have to acquiesce in shelving its main disputes with Israel over autonomy and hope that after the American election the U.S. will finally put enough pressure on Israel to win cooperation of conservative Palestinians and enable Egypt to break out of its isolation in the Arab world.

Carter's dilemma.

In the U.S., the presidential election is one factor tying Carter's hands, with pro-Israel sentiments strong in a number of key states. A real agreement on autonomy would be the best medicine for the incumbent's precarious political position,

but since Begin makes this impossible and obvious failure would be the worst possible development, Washington, too, is willing to settle for a pretense of progress while the real issues are avoided. So Israel is still not being pressed.

Nor is Carter waiting only for his election. The Israeli government's term is up in late 1981 and its internal bickering and extremely low popularity mean it might fall sooner. The April summons to Washington of opposition leader Shimon Perez embarrassingly made public just as Begin was concluding his own visit to America—expressed U.S. hopes that if it remains patient a Labor-led government in Jerusalem will be more cooperative. Meanwhile, humor Begin and let him build a few sandcastles on the West Bank as long as a way can be found for Sadat not to look too ridiculous.

Will this strategy work? Much depends in the medium range on how strong the ultimate American determination will be to press for a comprehensive Middle East peace. This in turn depends on many factors. Some are directly connected to the conflict, such as the Palestinians' precarious position vis-a-vis the Arab states and their ability to maintain a united front in demanding full independence. Others have more to do with the global configuration: will the U.S. regain an interest in promoting detente, perhaps then co-sponsoring a comprehensive Middle East accord with the USSR, or will it want to continue using Middle East clients as tools against the Soviet Union allies in the area?

The U.S. certainly possesses the means to force a change in Israeli policy. But one lesson of the last decade is that American pressure on Israel has not been applied nearly as much as it has been predicted, even in non-election years.

As for the Israeli government, while its fate is obviously narrowed by the departure of its most popular member, it is potentially less subject to dissension on foreign policy and military issues. If its more programmatic dovish members did not follow Weizman out they are even less likely to speak up against the hawkish majority in the future.

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SOUTH AFRICA

Student boycott defies racial barriers

The widespread protest was another blow to Botha's efforts to make "coloreds" and Indians junior partners in the ruling consensus.

By James North

JOHANNESBURG

EVERY SATURDAY, THE MAJOR newspapers here carry a list of the publications the regime has banned in the previous week. The list is wildly eclectic. Serious books and articles critical of South Africa appear together with obscure Trotskyist publications from Brazil, garage calendars with semi-nudes, and a variety of sex devices primly described as "objects."

One recent Saturday, the list contained a rather surprising entry. "The Wall," the latest album by the British rock group Pink Floyd, was found "prejudicial to the safety of the state." The album had sold 25,000 copies within a month of its release—a monster hit by South African standards—and record shops owners naturally grumbled as they took down their displays.

The state's move was pathetic but understandable. A single from the album, "Another Brick in the Wall," had become the theme song for an estimated 100,000 black students who carried out a four-week long school boycott that swept across the country and came perilously close to exploding into another violent confrontation like Soweto 1976.

The song's lyrics—"We don't need no education/we don't need no thought control!"—concisely summarize the chronic and persistent discontent with the segregated, unequal and ideologically conformist system of education here.

The protest began in mid-April in the Cape Town area, among the so-called "colored" people. This group of 2.5



Per capita expenditures for white students currently are three times those for blacks or "coloreds."

million South Africans of mixed Asian, African and European descent is classified as a separate "people" by the Registration of Population Act. They, and 778,000 Indian South Africans, are subject to different and slightly better treatment under apartheid than the 20 million "Africans."

One of the central tenets of the Black Consciousness movement has been to define "black" as including "coloreds" and Indians. The three groups are steadily moving closer together despite continued government efforts to keep them in separate "Group Areas" and schools. Among young people especially, the old racial classification terms have become insults that they apply to some of their more conservative elders.

Thus the first boycotters did not merely ask for equal education between white and "colored" children (current per capita expenditure is three times greater for whites.) They demanded equality among all students, in a single, non-racial educational system.

Instantly, the boycott spread hundreds of miles to other urban centers. Indian and some African children joined in. Groups of black teachers voted to strike. Parents committees and black university

students pledged their support. And white students at two of the English-speaking universities also boycotted in sympathy.

The Riotous Assemblies Act bans all outdoor gatherings, so the students had to be careful. Typically, they remained peacefully on school grounds, waving placards and warily watching the riot police gathered outside. In many areas, the students started "awareness programs," sophisticated efforts to examine and analyze their situation.

The regime backs down.

At first, the regime's response was painfully predictable. The Minister of Colored Affairs blamed the unrest on "political agitators" and threatened to close the schools. Prime Minister P.W. Botha warned, "If the state is challenged and decides to hit back, it will do so with all the means at its disposal." That very day, police attacked a peaceful gathering in a "colored" area of Johannesburg and arrested more than 700 students: 50 more were detained near Durban. Just one trigger-happy policeman could have touched off another 1976-style violent upheaval.

But then the regime backed off. Botha acknowledged the students had "justifiable grievances," and promised to move toward equality in education. He even said he had an open mind about establishing a single educational system. And the attorney general said he would not prosecute the 700 students arrested in Johannesburg.

The boycotters obviously did not regard these moves as a government capitulation. But they have no illusions about toppling the apartheid system in an instant. After a month, the students slowly returned to school. But the organizations they set up to coordinate the protest will remain intact—and ready for future action. (It is argued that more African students did not join the boycotts because their organizations still have not recovered from the repression of the 1976-77 period.)

The widespread protest is another blow to Botha's efforts to bring "coloreds" and Indians into the ruling consensus as junior partners. The mass movement in the two communities is rapidly leaving behind leaders who a few short years ago were considered radical.

Toward the end of the boycott, Botha announced a preliminary plan for the constitutional reform. The all-white senate will be abolished and replaced with a president's council of whites, "coloreds," Indians and Chinese. (The recent state visit of Taiwan's prime minister has

boosted the status of the tiny Chinese community here.) Real power will remain with the executive and the all-white assembly, but the plan still goes further than previous window-dressing efforts.

Especially after the boycott, there is no chance that more than a handful of older Indian and "colored" conservatives will go along with the scheme. The younger militants setting the pace will accept nothing less than political equality in a unitary state that includes Africans.

Another salutary consequence of the protest wave has been the damage to the reputation of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the leader of Kwa-Zulu, the most populous of the ten Bantustans. His base area of strength, among the Zulu people in and around Durban, South Africa's third-largest city, was the only part of the country unaffected by the 1976 uprising. Buthelezi supporters cited the calm there as an endorsement of the chief's strategy of negotiation instead of mass or violent action.

This time around events were altogether different. Many of Buthelezi's constituents in Durban's African townships ignored his recommendations and joined the boycotts with enthusiasm. Buthelezi remains influential, but it is clear that impatience with him is growing.

As expected, the shock waves from Zimbabwe elections are quickening the pace of change here. People who have waited despondently for decades now talk brightly of five-to-ten year time-tables. No one here is foolish enough to underestimate the regime's awesome strength. But they can see it starting—however slowly—to yield.

James North has been filing regularly for IN THESE TIMES as Our Southern Africa Correspondent.



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While 100,000 people marched peacefully down the Boulevard Voltaire, "autonomes" around Jussieu overturned a bus and provoked an attack by riot police.

FRANCE

Attacks on foreigners spark protests

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

"LOTS OF FOREIGN HEADS of state," explained French Interior Minister Christian Bonnet, "don't want their students to catch the political pox in France." In response to official complaints that foreign students, "subjected in France to the most subversive kinds of propaganda, end up as adversaries of the governments that turned to France to educate them," Bonnet last December issued a circular setting up new hurdles for foreign students. The worst requires applicants' names to be checked against a political opposition list, to weed out opponents to touchy Third World dictatorships. This should keep political refugees from using studies as a "pretext" to, say, avoid being sent back home to Uruguay and thrown into prison.

The Bonnet circular was completed by the "Imbert decree" making foreign students pass language tests given by French cultural services and setting up a special "national commission for the inscription of foreign students"—thus robbing the universities of much of their power to choose which foreign students they want to enroll.

These measures have caused the first outbreak of "political pox" on French campuses in four years.

Officials grumble that France has more than its share of foreign students, that its universities are being used as "dumps" for the "refuge" from the Third World. Such contemptuous expressions have been used by Prime Minister Raymond Barre and Universities Minister Alice Saunier-Seïte. Yet France owes much of its ongoing influence in the Third World to the sentimental and cultural attachment of elites who studied in France. A youthful dose of political pox usually only enhances this attachment: France retains prestige both of the imperial power and of the intellectual source of revolt.

France has the highest percentage of foreign students of any advanced industrial country: over 12 percent, compared to 4.5 percent in West Germany, about 7 percent in Britain and 2.9 percent in the U.S. Most of the 110,000 foreign students

in France come from North Africa, the former French colonies in black Africa (Cameroun, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Madagascar, Congo, Benin, Togo, Upper Volta and Gabon last year sent a total of 16,400), as well as countries such as Greece, Turkey and Iran whose universities cannot accommodate more than a fraction of the applicants.

By far the biggest single contingent—17,000 this year—comes from Morocco, where the government, rather than building its own universities, provides its sec-

ondary school graduates with a \$200 monthly stipend to go study elsewhere. This mostly means France, where registration fees run only about \$50 per year. It is handy for King Hassan to let France educate his elite, while running periodic checkups to spot political pox carriers.

Students from Common Market countries and North America are exempted from the Bonnet circular and Imbert decree. The measures are thus clearly intended to police Third World students in accord with their governments—rarely respectful of human and political rights—and cut back their number. Loud official insinuations that Arab and African students are illiterate in French, lazy and subversive are in keeping with identity checks that single out Arabs and Africans for identity checks in the metro.

The student response. Fortunately, French students, if less infected with political pox than a decade ago, have not yet caught the xenophobia being whipped up by certain authorities. As the well-known professor and writer Etienne said in a front-page commentary in *Le Monde*, "The most intelligent, the most generous of our students understood right away the ulterior motive behind that seemingly technical and harmless measure," the Imbert decree.

Thus late last March, when 218 foreign students at the University of Grenoble were called in to take a French test

in application of the Imbert decree, it was obvious to many that this was part of a pattern of discrimination and harassment. French and foreign students got together to organize a boycott of the language test, a protest hunger strike and, finally, a particularly determined and successful student strike.

Resistance to the Bonnet-Imbert measures began in January at Angers university in defense of two Moroccan students ordered expelled. Similar protests followed in a dozen other provincial universities, including Caen, Marseilles, Rouen. But none of them grew so big as the one in Grenoble.

This new movement had to arise from the deadening ashes of post-May '68 *gauchisme*, whose revolutionary rhetoric and in-fighting between rival possessors of the one true line have all but immunized French students to the political pox. In contrast to past student movements in France, this one has been resolutely single-issue and humanitarian, drawing its justification from human rights principles rather than from revolutionary strategy or class struggle. Thus it has overcome student distrust of being manipulated. But it has also frequently lacked the dynamism provided by true revolutionary faith or the organizational zeal of aspiring vanguard parties and has tended to peter out. In some cases, the strongest political contribution has come from the threatened Third World students themselves, often highly politicized with militant experience in their own countries and clearer ideas of how to organize an effective action than the French students.

After Paris, Grenoble has the largest number of foreign students in France—16 percent of its 30,000 students. Its American-style campus in the Alpine foothills allows space for a certain sense of community to develop. As in most French universities, the main political groups vying for control of whatever

happens are the Communist student union, the tough-guy Trotskyists of the International Communist Organization (OCI) and the intellectual Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Communist League (ICR). They are ferociously opposed by anti-organization autonomes, who are even worse when it comes to deviating a movement from its original goals.

Experience has shown that assemblies left to direct democracy and consensus are easily dominated by big talkers and verbal terrorists who drive off the doubtful and leave whatever survives of a movement in the hands of organized political groups, who often kill it off completely in their battle for control. To avoid this, Grenoble students reverted to formal representative democracy. Each class of each department met to elect two delegates to a central committee of about 150 that decided all questions by majority vote. The committee was careful to define clear attainable goals, including French courses given by the university itself to help foreign students reach the level of mastery required by their chosen field of study.

Students gave "fairs" to publicize the issue, leafletted at local factory gates and organized peaceful demonstrations of up to 10,000 people joined by the socialist mayor of Grenoble and the socialists and Communists on the city council. By the time CRS riot police started beating up students in late April, the peaceful nature and reasonable aims of the movement were familiar to the local population, which overwhelmingly sympathized with the students against the police.

Taking it to the capital.

Grenoble illustrated the strengths and limits of a well-focused local movement. Grenoble University authorities eventually gave in to all the student demands, allocating some \$50,000 to help entering foreign students perfect their French and agreeing to hold special courses and exams to make up work lost in the long student strike. But local authorities had no power to revoke the Imbert decree. That could only be done in Paris. The provincial reformist movement had reached the end of its tether.

In a last-ditch effort to keep the move-

Continued on page 23.

WAR GAMES

Photos by Charles Landon

By David Helvarg

MOJAVE DESERT

WE'RE SITTING AT THE bar in the officer's club at 29 Palms. It's crowded with desert-tanned marines in camouflage utilities and combat boots. Johnny Paycheck's "Take This Job and Shove It" is playing on the juke box. I'm talking with Ron Frazier, the public information officer who has been preparing us on the arms exercises scheduled to start at 8 a.m. the following morning. Talk naturally turns to the failed rescue mission in Iran. "If I was the president I'd give them 48 hours to return our captives, then I'd go in and level the country," Ron says. Strong stuff for a press officer. Ron introduces me to Marine Lieuten-

ant Hendricks, an air controller at the expeditionary airfield, who walks up with a mason jar full of beer in his hand. He looks well into his cups.

The lieutenant begins a harrangue about how the press is out to crucify the military. "This thing about lack of preparedness," he says to me, "we're prepared. We're ready. Remember: 'A strong military will prevail where diplomacy fails. The opposite is not true.' I read that in a magazine." He likes the quote. He repeats it to me several times, announcing it slowly.

"I'm crazy you know. I want a war," he says. "You know why? Because I'm tired of training. We're ready for it. We're the best. I can walk down the street in Watts and I can say 'C'mon motherfucker, I'm ready' and no one will touch me because I know I'm the best and so do they." I notice there are no black faces in the officers club. About half the troops in the field are black. He takes another slug from his mason jar.

"I remember the bomb shelters in the '50s. I was in Vietnam. Now I'm going through this bullshit. I tell you I'm ready to die. My kids, they can die too. I'd see them dead so that their kids might be able to live in a world without fear."

"He just likes to preach," PIO Frazier explains later as we're walking across the parking lot. "Don't mind what he

says. You'll find a thousand guys like him around here."

The mission.

The U.S. Marine Corp Air Ground Combat Center at 29 Palms, California occupies 932 square miles or 596,000 acres of the southern Mojave Desert. Close to the size of Rhode Island, the base has an arid upland desert environment similar in appearance to that found in the Persian Gulf, Iran, Pakistan and much of the rest of the Middle East and Northwest Asia. The Marines define the area as "Miles and miles of nothing but miles and miles." A good place to practice war.

Since 1975, 29 Palms has been the only desert warfare base in the country holding combined arms exercises in a "live fire environment," where planes, troops and armor use real ordinance including shells, rockets and heavy machine-gun fire. "This is as close to a real war situation as you can get," says one of the regular staff officers at the base. "These people are getting bombs and artillery dropped over their heads, they're advancing through areas that have just been blasted and strafed. The only difference between these exercises and real war is that they're not bleeding because of the safety precautions we're taking." Safety precautions taken during the exercises include the denial of ammunition to the infantry for their small arms.

Since the inception of the games no one has been killed as a result of live fire. But there have been several fatalities from marines falling off trucks or getting crushed under the treads of M-60 tanks.

The base itself is home to a number of support battalions including infantry, tank, artillery and communications as well as a permanent Expeditionary Airfield (set up in 1976), a top secret nuclear ordinance platoon and the Marine Corp's Communications-Electronics school.

Eight times a year combined arms exercises take place on the base. Two of these exercises include full brigades (about 4,000 men). The other six are battalion-size operations (involving about 1,500 men).

On May 2-4 it was the turn of the Third Battalion, Seventh Marine Regiment from Camp Pendleton. They would be provided with close air support by the Third Marine Airwing out of El Torro.

During the course of the exercise they





would face a Soviet-type threat consisting of a motorized rifle battalion. The enemy would be simulated by means of input from an "evaluation and control group" of monitors who would feed information to the battalion commander as well as by targets on the ground.

The field.

We started the day with a 6:45 a.m. briefing from the base commander Brigadier General Harold C. Glasgow. In a brief question and answer period after the slide-show presentation the general claimed that the exercises cost \$120,000 or \$500,000, depending on how you figured it. Additional costs will tend to sneak up on you, however. A mid-air collision during an exercise last year turned a pair of A-6 jets into \$40 million worth of desert scrap.

My photographer and I ride out in the back of a jeep with Major Michael G. Hire and his driver, Lance Corporal Ray Govan.

After passing through several checkpoints, we arrive at the base of a large rock outcropping; on the desert floor below a dozen M-60 tanks are lined up facing north. Off to their left a number of mortar positions have been dug in. Heavy trucks, jeeps and tracked assault vehicles are moving about the base of the hill. Steep sloped mountains to the east and the west create a valley effect focusing our attention to a series of low

hill masses off to the north.

Hidden among the rocks we find the Battalion commanders' communications center: an armored, tracked amphibious assault vehicle bristling with antennae and camouflaged in mottled desert brown and yellow. In the paint on the side of the vehicle someone has scratched out "Fuck Russia and Iran" with a picture of a hand giving the finger and a swastika. Inside some 20 young marines are talking on telephone headsets.

We move off to the side of the hill. In the distance white puffs of smoke begin to appear as eight-inch and 175-mm artillery pieces begin peppering the desert, acting as simulated naval gunfire. A few seconds later the sound of the explosions reaches us. Off to our flanks thin-bodied Cobra helicopter gunships begin searching the nearby foothills for enemy infantry. The mortars open fire, joining in with the artillery. It's 8:05 a.m.

After several minutes the artillery fire lifts. We can see a pair of A-6 jets banking to the east, the early morning sun reflecting off their wings. They come in low and fast across the valley floor. First one then the other drop their load of 500-pound bombs. We can see the canisters tumble. There is a flash of bright orange flame and then a cloud of brown dust rising hundreds of feet into the air as the guppy-shaped jets bank and roar off over the mountains. There is a cheer from the marines on the hill. The Cobras

“I’d like to kick ass in Iran,” said one young recruit, “but anyplace is fine. I just want some action. You see, they try and keep us motivated that way. It’s all part of the plan.”

hammer the nearby hills with 20 mm cannon fire as tank elements begin moving out across the desert floor, leaving plumes of sand and dust rising up behind them. Every so often one of the tanks fire their cannon toward a large pile of tires that an evaluator has just designated a "live" target. At 8:45 a.m. the command vehicle moves out, the first objective of the day having been secured.

Break down.

We follow the action down onto the desert floor, moving toward the next range of hills, keeping an eye out for dud shells and fast-moving vehicles. Suddenly we come upon the command vehicle broken

Clockwise from top: The amphibious command unit; a helicopter on the portable airfield; an infantryman.

down in a clearing among the boulders and cactus trees. The big metal-snouted amphibious assault vehicle sits dead on the ground, the victim of a mechanical failure, 100 miles from the nearest ocean. Support vehicles begin circling around like worker ants climbing over the body of a dead queen. A five-ton truck moves up and Lieutenant Colonel Wydo, the battalion commander in charge of the operation begins transferring his communications gear into it.

A couple of infantry wiremen are lounging nearby. One of them, Frank, a tall skinny trooper with a ragged mustache, is hobbling around on a crutch. "They told me I wouldn't have to do any field duty after I turned my motorcycle over on my leg," he complains. "I don't know what you call this?" "Recreational therapy?" suggests his friend Robert, a three-year volunteer from Missoula, Montana. "I've only got a year left before I get out," says Robert. "I sure hope there's no war. Of course I can see how the officers would feel differently. They're much more highly motivated toward that kind of thing."

The colonel transfers to the big truck and roars off toward the next line of departure. By the time we get there the artillery fire has already started blasting into the next valley. Hueys, Cobras and RH-53 supply ships are buzzing around our perimeters. There are dozens of trucks, jeeps and other vehicles laagered around the command vehicle. The only thing that might prevent an enemy spotter from targeting this concentration is if he mistook it for a large dusty town.

A pair of A-6s come screaming over our heads. The first one drops napalm about a mile ahead of us. The sticky orange flame splashes across a small hillcock. The second plane banks away without dropping its load. An OV-10 Bronco prop plane flies by and drops smoke. The smoke dissipates. The second A-6 makes several more passes without dropping it's load—apparently the plane's communications system has failed so that the ground spotter cannot instruct it when to "pickle" its bombs. Sporadic artillery fire begins to blow around the valley.

Colonel Turley, director of operations and training, shouts up to Colonel Wydo on the back of his truck: "Work to put it back together. Go back there and bang some heads together if you have to. Don't let this thing fall apart on you." Wydo calls a ceasefire to reassess his situation.

We talk to a couple of troopers operating the jeep-mounted TOW wire-guided missiles. Gunner Vince Krizan lets us look through the viewfinder. The crosshairs are electronically adjusted for range and trajectory. Pull the trigger and two razor thin wires attached to the rear of the small anti-tank missile will keep it on course. "You can't miss with this," Vince explains, "as long as you keep your eye on the target. Of course, at \$4,000 a piece we don't get to fire a whole lot of them." The jeep with the launcher mounted on it, a couple of missiles and a star-lite night viewing scope runs around \$75,000.

Tank Commander Sergeant Ronald Wilkins, a tall young black man with a wispy mustache and a woolen helmet lining pulled over his head, is standing in the T.C. Cuppola atop the turret behind his .50 caliber machine-gun.

"I signed up for four years back in Richmond, Va.," he says. "By signing up for that extra year I was able to pick my specialty, so I picked tanks. I guess I'll re-up if I get a staff sergeant rating. It all depends on like what the job situation is when I'm ready to get out or if

Continued on page 22.

Continued on page 22.

EDITORIAL

Miami is not a return to the '60s

The immediate cause of the riot in Miami three weeks ago was the acquittal of four white policemen in the killing of Arthur McDuffie, a black insurance executive who was arrested for a traffic violation last December and died after having his skull "cracked like an egg," as the Dade County coroner put it. But police brutality, which once again is on the rise in several cities, is only symptomatic of deeper problems.

Fifteen years after the riot in Watts, which was followed by a devastating riot in Detroit and then, after Martin Luther King's assassination in 1968, by riots in Chicago, Washington and other cities, life in the inner city ghettos has improved little, if at all. In 1969, median family income in central cities, mostly black, was 83 percent of the income of people living in the suburbs, mostly white. By 1977, according to a recent Census Bureau study, it had fallen to 79 percent. In New York the proportion fell from 71 percent to 61 percent in these years; in Philadelphia from 89 percent to 67 percent; in Cleveland from 72 percent to 63 percent; and in Atlanta from 72 percent to 60 percent.

Unemployment among blacks throughout the '70s was always at least twice that among whites, and was always more than 8 percent. Among black teenagers unemployment ran well over 30 percent, and in some cities—like Miami—has been as high as 50 percent.

This situation has been made worse in recent years by the exodus of many plants from inner cities and the subsequent loss of manufacturing jobs. (See Gregory Squires on runaway factories as a civil rights issue, IN THESE TIMES, May 14).

But all of this does not mean that the civil rights movement or the riots of the '60s were in vain. On the positive side, racism in American society, both official and popular, has substantially declined, though it is far from eliminated. Blacks have generally won equal access to public accommodations, North and South. And, despite the general deterioration of public school systems and increasing *de facto* segregation in inner city schools, the proportion of black high school dropouts has declined from 33 percent to 25 percent in the last decade and the proportion of black high school graduates going on to college has risen from 35 percent to 42 percent, approximately the same as for whites, though the colleges most blacks go to are either two-year community colleges or schools with all-black enrollments.

But the most important gains, both in terms of results to date and in their potential, have been the winning of the right to vote in the South and the increasing participation of blacks in politics, North and South.

This is particularly important because we live in a society whose priorities are established primarily by large-scale private corporate interests, but within the constraints of an electoral system. For blacks, as for property-less people in general, the only way to exercise a consistent degree of influence, and, potentially, control over social policy is through government. And the way into government, in our society, is through elections. Workers organized in trade unions have some power outside the framework of government, but even the unions have been most effective when they have been able to mobilize their members politically, as in the early days of the CIO, during the New Deal, and in the immediate post-war decades. For this reason, the struggle for the right to vote

—to enlarge the electorate to include those without the power of property—has been a central thrust of working class politics in all industrial societies. In the U.S. in this century women won that right in 1919 and blacks in the '60s.

One result of that achievement has been the election of black mayors and

other city officials in many places—places where the situation is in some respects different from cities like Miami where precious few blacks have been in public office. In Detroit, for example, where 43 people were killed and 1,000 injured in the 1967 rioting, black mayor Coleman Young has reorganized the po-

lice force so that it is now 40 percent black. As a result, and despite the terrible rate of unemployment in Detroit's auto industry, black observers doubt there is much danger of a '60s-style riot.

Yet, if blacks have gained some degree of power and respect in cities where they have successfully entered the political arena, many believe that riots produce desirable results and may still be a necessity in others.

One black student at Howard University, commenting on the Miami events, recalled that after the riots in Washington in 1968 "we got more black police, a black mayor and police chief, blacks on the federal bench, more money for black business." Nor is this a unique view. The *Chicago Tribune* reported (May 25) that scores of blacks, both unemployed and middle class, agreed that the riots would improve conditions in Miami.

This may well be true, but it is not cause for celebration. Whatever progress riots bring is bought at a high price in human life and suffering, not to mention dignity. And while the Miami riot may have the effect of imposing a degree of restraint on the more racist police officers, it can do little to solve the underlying problems of deteriorating public schools, health care and other services, or in solving the problem of unemployment.

The '60s and the '80s.

In the '60s the civil rights movement focused on demands that often were of little direct concern to white working people—the right to vote, equal access to accommodations and other rights that white working people had won long ago. The riots of those years polarized many cities along racial lines, but also made it clear that blacks who had moved into central cities, North and South, during and after the war could no longer be treated simply as second-class citizens.

Having made substantial gains in those years, blacks, along with other working people, now face a different situation, one that cuts more deeply into the heart of the question of the role of government in our society—who it serves, and how its priorities can be changed.

The American government, of course, has always served some combination of business interests. But as the electorate has steadily been enlarged—by naturalization of immigrant workers, by women's suffrage and by the enfranchisement of blacks—and as business interests have become more and more concentrated and centralized with the growth of the multinational corporations, the gap between the interests of the majority of those eligible to vote and government policy has widened. And as blacks have been more assimilated into the general workforce they have increasingly come to share common concerns with other working people.

Specifically today, unemployment, inflation and cutbacks in social services—education, health care, transportation—adversely affect all working Americans, even if they affect blacks most severely.

The solution to these problems lies in a change in the social goals and policies of our state and federal governments—a change that would put a stop to the various forms of government subsidies to corporate interests—both at home and overseas—and in its place would use the power and resources of government to invest in a program of social goals in the interest of working people, black and white. In the 1980s this is no longer an impossible dream.

The civil rights movement focused on the right to vote and other rights that whites had won long ago. But now blacks face a situation that cuts more deeply to the heart of our society's problems.



LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

DISAPPOINTED

I WAS DISAPPOINTED WITH THE COVERAGE given to the recent March on the Pentagon for a Non-Nuclear World (*ITT*, May 7). There were more arrests made than the 300 reported in the article. I was arrested in the later afternoon after an entire day of creative non-violent tactics. The Federal Protective Service spent most of the day attempting to discourage any arrests because the increased numbers look bad in the media and cause extensive red tape.

The FPS is highly trained in delivering kidney-blows to discourage us in our repeated attempts to block access to the Pentagon with non-violent affinity groups sitting in the main entrances and exits.

Dr. Spock, Daniel Ellsberg, David Dellinger and Berrigan were arrested at the main entrance early in the day. The action became rough and tumble down in the subway concourse areas of the Pentagon as the FPS battered around the hundreds trying to force Pentagon personnel to listen to reasons why they should stop contributing to the nuclear drive of the Pentagon. It was 3:30 a.m. before they were able to remove me with 30 other men and women in a paddy wagon since more demonstrators would lie down in front of it every time they tried to drive away.

All in all, nearly 2,000 people marched from DOE to the Pentagon to carry off a beautiful non-violent tactic that tied them up for an entire day. The Rocky Flats group even returned the next day and were arrested for occupying the helicopter pad.

Your article failed to point out that 40 percent of DOE funds are being used to research and promote nuclear development and weaponry. The upper echelon posts in the DOE are all filled with former Pentagon members. Our direct march from the DOE to the Pentagon should have dramatized this dangerous link in priorities of the DOE.

—Kel Pickens
Sunbelt Alliance
Stillwater, Okla.

PAT FOR PAT

JUST A QUICK NOTE TO SAY HOW much I like and respect the reviewing Pat Aufderheide does for *ITT*. It is rare that a newspaper on the left pays serious attention to the ways the movie industry shapes consciousness. She does a splendid job analyzing that. In fact, I usually turn to her section of the paper first.

—Brooke Larson
Brooklyn, N.Y.

FREE SPACE

CONGRATULATIONS ON JOHN MARKOFF's article on the arms race in outer space (*ITT*, May 7). It is a useful introduction to space-based military systems and their crucial strategic role. However, Markoff does not discuss the danger of nukes in orbit. Many military satellites, both American and Soviet, are powered by nuclear devices because the solar power panels used on civilian satellites are vulnerable to anti-satellite weapons. Soviet ocean reconnaissance satellites, mentioned by Markoff as prime anti-satellite weapon targets, are similar to the nuclear powered Cosmos 954 that crashed in Canada

two years ago. Use of anti-satellite weapons against such satellites will shower the earth with radioactive debris.

The U.S. has had its nuclear accidents in space as well as the Soviets. In 1970, the Apollo 13 flight experienced an on-board explosion. The lunar lander was jettisoned into the atmosphere, and more than eight pounds of plutonium in a shielded cask disappeared in deep ocean waters.

The article also does not address the growing political support for peaceful use of outer space, in addition to the organized opposition to the militarization of space, that is emerging. Europe, Japan, and the Soviet Union are all in the midst of dramatic increases in space development, and support for an increase in peaceful uses in the U.S., is not confined to the aerospace companies and a few former astronauts in the Senate.

—Jim Heaphy
Citizens for Space Demilitarization
San Francisco

BAD MANNERS

WHAT POSSESSED YOU TO PUBLISH William Burr's review of Alan Wolfe's recent brief essay, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Soviet Threat'?" (*ITT*, Apr. 30)

His tone is one nurtured in graduate seminars, as students snipe and "harumph" at ideas that are not their own or their advisers' while they compete for limited professorial favors and, ultimately, jobs. Before Burr delivers another thrust he ought to cultivate associations in which he can learn manners more appropriate to socialist political debate.

Then we could constructively discuss his differences with Wolfe's argument that domestic political considerations have been and continue to be relatively more important influences on U.S. "defense" spending than have considerations of national security. Burr points out that U.S. power has suffered a relative decline in recent years. For him it follows that U.S. National security has therefore also been threatened and, hence, that we need not look to domestic conflicts to explain our government's

war mongering. Indeed, it would "add to confusion over issues that require greater clarity of thought" to do so.

If clarity of thought means that we accept without question the conflation of U.S. power with U.S. national security common in ruling circles, then perhaps a little confusion is in order.

—Michael Merrill
New York, N.Y.

IN WHAT WAY?

WITH REGARD TO DIANA JOHNSTONE's characteristically valuable report (*ITT*, May 6) on Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho's role in Portugal today, in what respect does his advocacy of creating "a new economic space with Africa, especially with the former colonies" by trading technology for raw materials, differ from the classic neocolonial strategy?

—Richard S. Beth
Springfield, Mo.

Editor's note: Perhaps in the terms of such trade.

BEGIN AND THE WEST BANK

DAVID MANDEL'S ARTICLE (*ITT*, MAY 21) on the latest violence in Hebron clearly shows that the struggle for control of the West Bank has intensified.

The American Friends Service Committee supports the existence of the state of Israel as a homeland for the Jewish people and the need for its security. We also support the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. In light of these commitments we are concerned about the absence of due process in the deportation of the mayors of Halhoul and Hebron. Such action, taken outside the due process of law, serves to further emphasize the capriciousness of authority in the continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank.

We respect those Israelis who publicly question the wisdom of Israel's continued West Bank settlement efforts. In a recent poll, commissioned by the Public Opinion Research Institute, 5 percent of the Israeli public expressed disagreement with the Israeli government's spending money for new settlements.

However, if Mandel's prognosis for the future—more and worse violence and oppression in the occupied territories—is going to change we must do more than criticize Israel. Israel's actions in the West Bank are flagrantly provocative and cast grave doubt about the Begin government's commitment to the Camp David Accords and its framework of negotiations on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza.

We suggest that Americans demand a clearly stated Middle East policy based on justice for all people of the region. One step in this direction is for

Congress to delete \$150 million (the amount spent by Israel on the settlement) from the economic aid package to Israel for 1981. We urge your readers to write their senators, representatives and Lee Hamilton, chair of the Middle East subcommittee of the House, with this demand.

—Marsha Steir-Cormie
Middle East Program
American Friends Service Committee

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

SINCE IN THESE TIMES BEGAN PUBLICATION you have done little or no coverage of the Socialist Party, U.S.A. Many of us in the SP were very optimistic in your beginning since our and your politics were and are very similar. Some of us were the initial distributors of *ITT*.

Some of our locals and state organizations bought ads and still do. Yet, with the exception of a blurb on one of our conventions, you have ignored us.

We may not be as strong as we once were, but we are alive and kicking well. The Socialist Party is the only political party on the left today that has anyone holding elected office. We have the former mayor of Milwaukee as our national chairperson. We have a person of national reputation—David McReynolds—running as our presidential candidate. We are the only political party ever to run a Catholic nun for vice president.

You once responded to a similar letter and said that you felt that a third party was not the answer. After seeing the coverage you gave to Barry Commoner and the Citizens Party, I assume that you have changed your tune. I now assume that your reason is that the Socialist Party is too small to report about.

The Citizens Party convention looked like the People's Party convention of 1974. Four years later, when the SP went to merge with the Peoples Party, the PP had 28 dues payers and a post office box. The Socialist Party has outlived not only the People's Party but all the Progressive Parties and a string of others.

—Lee Hubert
Williamsburg, Va.

Editor's note: For our view on third parties, see the editorial in *ITT*, May 21.

CORRECTION:

In Fred Halliday's most recent report from Iran, "Rightwing clerics escalate attacks on the Iranian left" (*ITT*, May 21), two typographical errors appeared: The Tudeh party polled 100,000 (not 10,000) votes in the first round of parliamentary elections; and it is the Komehlah Party, not the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) that is influenced by Maoist ideas.

ITT WINS AWARD

Two articles by IN THESE TIMES cultural editor Patricia Aufderheide were recognized for "outstanding investigative work" by the fourth annual awards of "Project Censored"—a media research project at Sonoma State University.

A jury that included Ben Bagdikian, Noam Chomsky, Mary McGroarty and Mike Wallace chose censorship and mismanagement in public broadcasting as one of the "ten best censored stories of 1979 and cited Aufderheide for two pieces on the subject: "This program was not made possible..." (*IN THESE TIMES*, March 5, 1980), which exposed PBS's double standard of corporate vs. union sponsorship and "Independent Focus breaks tradition in public programming" (*IN THESE TIMES*, Feb. 6), which reported on the politics of selecting independent films at New York's WNET.



"Never mind..."

Ross/ROTHCO

A plan for pulling together in the '80s

Economic Democracy: The Challenge of the 1980s

by Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer
M.L. Sharpe, Inc. Distributed by
Pantheon/Random House, 393 pages,
\$15 hardcover; \$7.95 paper

By G. William Domhoff

The American left never has wanted for parties and organizations. In the '60s and '70s there was SNCC, SDS, Weatherman, NAM, Panthers, Peace and Freedom, five Marxist-Leninist groupings to join three that already existed, and two new groupings out of a three-way split within the Socialist Party. In the same time period, community groups, public interest groups, communes, alliances, collectives, networks, co-ops and a variety of coalitions also formed and reformed.

Although the '80s have barely begun, already there is a fledgling Citizens Party and an anti-militarist Republican running for president as an independent with encouragement from activists and philanthropists of the left-liberal and social democratic left.

So there always is something new to analyze, join, hope for or criticize. On closer inspection, however, most of these fresh starts are based on familiar assumptions, like the need for a broad third party on a minimalist platform, or a "vanguard" party that struggles alongside workers on bread-and-butter issues at the point of production, or to build out slowly from single issues or to build up gradually from local reform activities. These familiar assumptions, in turn, rest

on premises that are seldom discussed—that all capitalist countries are about the same in ideology, government structure, and union structure, that the road to socialism will be about the same in all countries, and that workers will one day "wake up" when they realize that unemployment and inflation are grinding them down.

Amidst all this organizational variety and programmatic sameness, the programs and strategies set forth by economist-activists Martin Carnoy and Derek Shearer in *Economic Democracy* may be a little different. There is no idea or plan in their book that has not been tried before or that makes their approach distinctive. In fact, their suggestions are based on a systematic assessment of public ownership, government banks, co-ops, worker control, and welfare programs as they exist in Western Europe, Canada, and even the U.S., where initiatives in these directions are not well known.

Their effort is worthy of careful consideration because of the overall nature of their program and their concern with its suitability as an entering wedge to bigger and better things. It may add up to more than the sum of its parts. One thing is sure. It is not a proven failure.

As the title implies, the concern of the book is to present a program and strategy that could lead to a movement for "economic democracy" in the 1980s, economic democracy being understood by Shearer and Carnoy as "the transfer of economic decision-making from the few to the many," or as "production and investment decision making by workers and consumers, not by individual capital

owners and managers." More specifically, there are two "essential elements" in their approach: "(1) the shift of investment control from corporate domination to the public; and (2) the reconstruction of economic decision making through democratic, worker- and worker/consumer-controlled production."



The Carnoy-Shearer program and strategy has a chance because it builds on several assumptions that have a high degree of plausibility, especially in the light of past left failures. I think these critical underpinnings are as follows:

1. The U.S., a liberal, middle-level fragment of old Europe, lacks the aristocratic-conservative element in its ideology that helps validate collectivist solutions and greater government involvement in all phases of life. The consequent pervasiveness of liberal ideology, with its emphasis on individualism, competition, mobility, the free market, and the night watchman state, has made the U.S. inhospitable to traditional socialist ideology, which emphasizes centralization and government control.

This insight—summarized by one political scientist in the phrase, no feudalism, no socialism—is the basis for the full-scale turn to a program of economic democracy by Carnoy and Shearer, who state that "the roots of a movement for economic democracy in the U.S., if such a movement develops, will not be in the European socialist tradition, but in the American radical tradition of populism, whose primary value was always democracy." By this reckoning, the proper approach is to extend political democracy to the economic realm, rather than bringing the economy more directly under a centralized government.

Needless to say, this is an assumption that few on the traditional left have entertained. It shakes up everything.

2. Government structure makes a difference in the nature of a country's party system, and the U.S. has a unique governmental structure (a presidential-gubernatorial system combined with single-member districts for selecting legislators) that makes it all but impossible for a third party to survive for long. Unlike a parliamentary system, where coalitions to create a new administration are formed after the elections, a presidential system generates a strong inducement to build pre-election coalitions that compromise and mute their differences in order to win the big prize of the presidency.

Under this system, not only is full programmatic discussion dampened, but a vote for a third party is a vote for your least favorite choice, maybe even your worst enemy, if you have enemies. From a left vantage point this means a vote for a third party is a vote against what most wage earners perceive to be their immediate needs and interests (jobs, usually, but social programs too). Because Carnoy and Shearer see a large measure of truth in this analysis, they advocate electoral work in non-partisan elections and in Democratic Party primaries.

This call to avoid the fond hope for a third party that finally puts together the right mix of issues, leadership styles and activist groups obviously is another assumption not shared by all of the left, as evidenced most recently by the formation of a Citizens Party whose support-

ers discount the experiences of the Progressive Party in 1948 and the Peace and Freedom Party in 1968 as not relevant to the 1980s, dismiss the worst-enemy argument as mostly self-paralyzing, and emphasize instead that Carter and Reagan are basically the same on most issues, and especially on foreign policy.

3. Carnoy and Shearer believe that the government is less than monolithic and less than a simple tool or instrument of the corporate capitalists. Say they: "While the government functions mainly in the service of private enterprise, both ideologically and financially, it is also an arena of conflict." This assumption, which Marxists influenced by Nicos Poulantzas say is not shared by all on the left due to the pervasive influence of Stalinist ("instrumental") Marxism, is what makes it possible to think about the frankly reformist strategy they advocate, for they are claiming that bits and pieces of government can be influenced and utilized.

Indeed, for the Carnoy-Shearer scenario to work it is necessary to win specific victories that in turn help in reaching new constituencies and in changing attitudes. The whole social security-welfare-health apparatus built up through the insurgencies of the '30s and '60s could be a case in point, but this time Carnoy and Shearer want to create such things as public banks and competitive public enterprises in addition to more and better benefits programs.

4. As the last paragraph implies, the Carnoy-Shearer program assumes that reforms do make a difference. This assumption will be doubted by those who say that nothing happened in the '30s or '60s, or that social democracy did not have any effect in Britain or Sweden. But left reformers have made a difference, not only in forcing some semblance of a welfare state in the U.S.—and that welfare state did grow under pressure in the late '60s and early '70s, as all the mainstream griping about a "distemper of democracy" also suggests—but in the creation of a more equitable income distribution, a larger welfare state, and more progressive taxation in other capitalist democracies where a left party, backed by a strong labor movement, has won parliamentary elections.

This conclusion is supported by a cross-national study of 17 democratic capitalist countries by sociologist John D. Stephens, *The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism* (Humanities Press, 1980). Such studies, when combined with recent others that show that revolutions have occurred only in countries where a large peasantry causes disruption, may lead to a reconsideration of reformist strategies in the '80s.



5. A final assumption in the Carnoy-Shearer analysis concerns the limited, defensive, and apolitical nature of American trade unionism. They recognize that unions have won important political struggles (e.g., the right to recognition and collective bargaining) and have aided in other struggles (e.g., welfare programs, civil rights). On balance, however, the combination of a liberal ideology and a two-party system have left unions as primarily economic organizations that

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Continued from previous page.

will lend their energies to efforts for large-scale social change only at times.

Divorced from a relationship to a labor or social democratic party, as in Europe, the major focus of American unions is on collective bargaining, the theory and practice of which in an apolitical context, say Carnoy and Shearer, lead to the growth of a large, specialized and self-protective union bureaucracy, on the one hand, and a decline in rank-and-file initiatives on the other. It is not that the unions are led by "sell-outs" or tricked by far-seeing capitalists, as some on the left still claim. The problem is more basic and impersonal, and the analysis suggests that unions must be regarded as only one part of a larger movement structure.

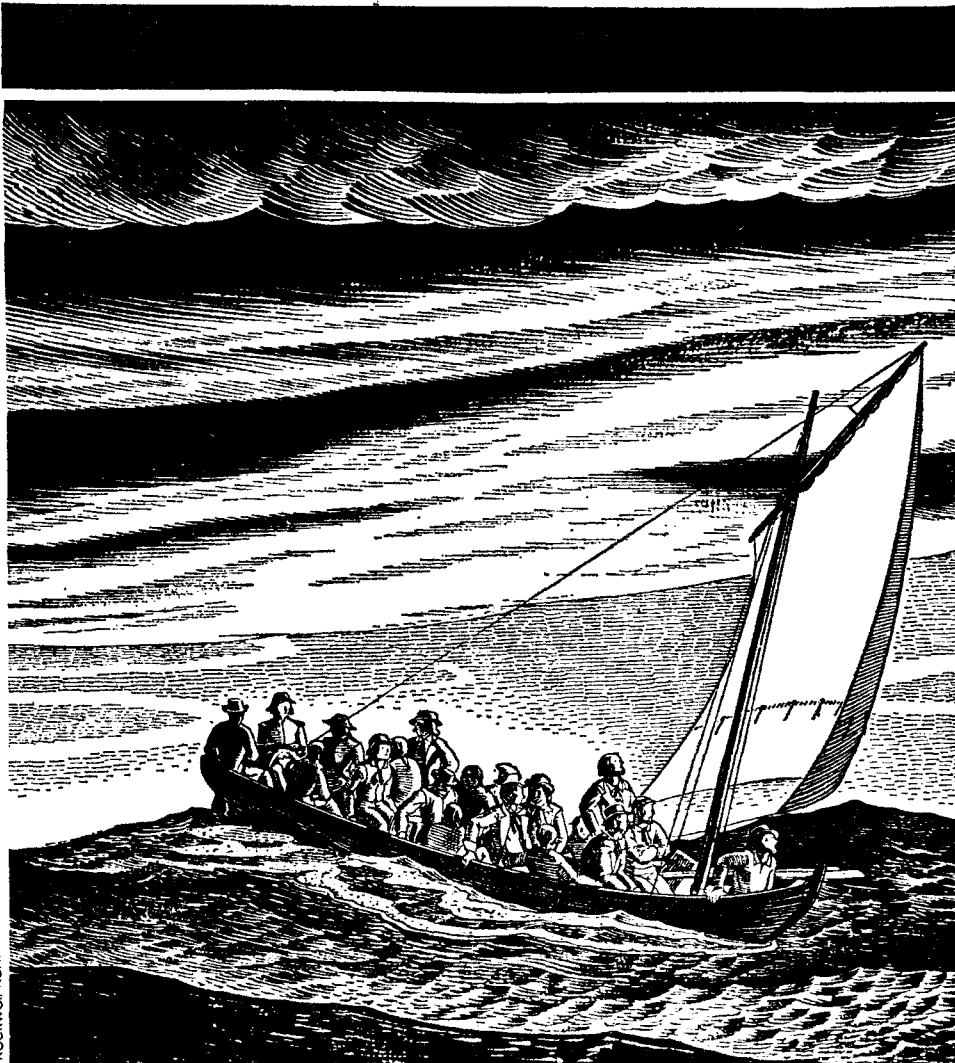
Taken together, these assumptions bespeak of an "American Exceptionalism" that is more profound than one rooted in analyses that stress only high productivity, upward mobility, and racism in explaining the relative lack of political consciousness and socialist sentiment within the working class. Cheerleaders for the working class who pass themselves off as tough-minded political analysts will say that such assumptions spread pessimism and despair.

Such a fate does not befall Carnoy and Shearer. They seemed buoyed by their belief that they may have glimpsed the depth of the problem and yet found starting points from which to build. If there can't be "socialism," let there be "economic democracy," which will be in any case more decentralized, participatory, and egalitarian than any existing "socialism." If there can't be One Big Third or Vanguard Party tied to One Big Active Union Movement, then develop a loose-knit network of programmatically-united associations, unions, and electoral organizations, some of which contend in Democratic Party primaries, and all of which grow and reinforce each other as they gain specific victories.

Not only do they see ways around the ideological and structural bases of American exceptionalism, they see other of its bulwarks fast disappearing. Along with so many others on the left, they foresee an end to the high productivity that has been a factor in dampening interest in socialist and other egalitarian programs. Corporate capitalism is at its limits for creating more and more of the good life. Breakdown is not imminent, but the "great postwar era of American economic expansion is drawing to a close" and the major events of the 1970s—the American defeat in Vietnam, the decline of the dollar, the energy crisis, and the appearance of stagflation—all signal an end to American exceptionalism," they write.

Warming to their task, they even read the record of the left in the '70s more positively than do most. The left was surely less visible on a national scale than in the '60s, but there were lots of things happening at the local level, some political successes at the state level, stirrings in the labor movement, and some student activism around corporate involvement in South Africa. Moreover, aspects of the program and strategy they propose were tested and found useable, including the consistent and often dramatic finding that various types of leftists did quite well in Democratic Party primaries around the nation.

If we are going to get into that sort of optimistic reading, it could be added that the general public's attitudes towards blacks, women, racial intermarriage, and abortion all improved greatly over the course of the '70s. There has been a large growth in social liberalism and a slow growth in the already high support for economic liberalism. Government is bad and taxes are too high, but the things people want cut are waste, inefficiency, and welfare, not health insurance, unemployment compensation, social security, education and other social services. Such recent evidence supports the Carnoy-Shearer argument that "it is possible for a movement to lose many times in the conventional sense—in elections or initiatives or bills in the legislature—and yet to win in the long run, in the construction of a more democratic society." What is



Carnoy and Shearer argue that the left now has an opportunity to move together toward a program of social control of investment.

necessary is to "define political programs more broadly than do conventional politicians" and to fit this notion of political progress "into the framework of a transitional program and a long-term strategy."



What, finally, is this program and strategy for economic democracy that breeds all this enthusiasm in our authors? Since I have gone on about the basic assumptions and the reasons for believing them, on the assumption that people will ignore the program if they reject the assumptions, I am left with only a few paragraphs to answer that question. Briefly, it is a program that (1) calls for a core group of "competitive public enterprises" at the national level, one from each of several industrial sectors for a total of about 30; (2) suggests forms of social control and public ownership at state and local levels; (3) urges public banks at federal, state, and local levels to make loans from government tax money and pension funds; (4) outlines expanded programs for worker control and democratic management; and (5) advocates the expansion of consumer and producer co-ops. With each aspect, there is an analysis of how a similar plan or program has worked in Italy or England or British Columbia or Oregon, and what must be done to make it work better.

The authors also offer a detailed program for dealing with unemployment, inflation, health insurance, and old-age security. They base their ideas in good

part on the Swedish case, which in many ways is the opposite of the U.S. in the kind of "Keynesian" solutions applied to these problems. However, a final, highly detailed program for dealing with inflation is adapted from the work of Bertram Gross, whose experience with social and economic programs within the American context goes back to the '40s.

Although the authors draw their ideas from a variety of contexts, they are not unmindful of those contexts. Thus, they stress that most public enterprises in Europe exist for non-socialist reasons and that even socialist-created public enterprises often have been autocratically managed. Most importantly, they again and again emphasize that leftist programs only have been possible when the working class has been organized and fought for them. Sweden has a very different welfare state because the working class is organized into unions and makes its programs known and realizable through its own political party, not because the capitalists are more benign or the planners more farsighted.

In the final chapter the authors present their strategy for building a movement in the 1980s. It begins with the creation of state and local multi-issue organizations in as many cities and states as possible. These organizations must attempt to build and/or include co-ops, alternative businesses, unions, and neighborhood groups in a coalition. The coalition must put forward a bold, not minimalist, program for economic democracy through a variety of methods—running candidates, sponsoring initiatives, and lobbying for legislative bills.

Sometime in the '80s, however, the movement must move to the national level by running a presidential candidate on the program for economic democracy. The goal here would be to gain support for the program through the exposure that comes with a national electoral campaign. Such a campaign also might attract and educate new activists, who

would in turn work in one or more organizations at the state and local levels. The challenge for the presidency would take place "within the two-party system," which presumably means the Democratic branch.

The movement would measure its growth in terms of its ability to create political activism among working people and in terms of its growing acceptance in general public opinion. Many parts of the program can be won through elections, lobbying, initiatives, and bills in the legislature. It is possible to take steps that control inflation, make the system more conducive to co-ops, create public banks, and so on.

Although the authors use the term "transitional program" in the final chapter, the program they suggest is not a set of "intermediate demands" that are supposed to lead to a different set of programs and plans in the end. Instead, theirs seems to be a program that embodies the end at the beginning, only on a smaller scale. The good society would be an aggregation and accumulation of the kind of specific initiatives they suggest. The attempt is to build everything from the ground up, whether it be through worker control, local banks, or the limited types of planning they advocate because of the difficulties and anti-democratic potentialities in top-down national planning.

The attempt to work from the ground up may account in part for the absence of a major chapter necessary to make such a book into a full-scale action program. The needed chapter would outline the economic democrats' foreign and defense policies, that would speak to whatever real defense needs there are, and that would not end in apologies or stunned silence when Vietnams and Chinas go to war, when Cambodians are turned asunder, and when Soviet Unions invade Czechoslovakias, Hungarys, and Afghanistans. Again and again left movements have been swept aside or ignored when they had no answers or inadequate answers to these types of questions, and it does not seem likely that the '80s will be any exception.

The biggest question confronting the strategy is whether it is possible in the U.S. to develop an organized left under any circumstances, even one as loosely organized as Carnoy and Shearer propose. Hope may spring eternal, but the past record does not augur well for such an eventuality, even though that same record does register victories for anti-war, civil rights, women's and environmental movements in which various leftists played significant roles, and even though that same record includes the liberalization of attitudes through efforts in which many leftists had a big part.

It may be that a more limited, catalytic role is the historic destiny of left activists in America, as Richard Flacks tentatively argued in the January 1979 *Socialist Review*: "The historic role of the left has not been to assert leadership over masses but to build the capacity of the people to take collective action in their common interest." The left could do even better in this regard if it had an alternative vision to corporate capitalism: "What the American left has failed to do as a socializing force is to crystallize a coherent vision of a fundamental social alternative, and a set of principles and programmatic concepts against which to measure elite-sponsored policies and reforms. Such a vision and programmatic perspective is critical for creating a cultural climate that enables people to transcend privatistic values."

It is an honorable and important role that Flacks envisions for the American left, and at the least programs such as those sponsored by Carnoy and Shearer are the next step in such an effort. *Economic Democracy* is a coherent vision of a fundamental social alternative that Flacks calls for, and it is based upon believable assumptions about how America works. Only an attempt to implement the vision will determine whether it is workable.

William Domhoff is the author of *The Powers That Be* and several other books. He is a sponsor of *IN THESE TIMES*.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

Milton Friedman in *FREE TO CHOOSE*.

THE SELLING OF THE AIRWAVES

BY PAUL D'ARI

Among the handful of national production centers for public TV, one is emerging as a mouthpiece for business interests—WQLN in Erie, Pa., the nation's 137th television market.

WQLN, the station that brought monetarist economist Milton Friedman's series *Free to Choose* to PBS, has developed a 10-year plan that proposes to use its broadcasting and production facilities to promote the virtues of Social Darwinism and "free market competition." The plan, entitled "Communications and a Free Society," contends that the existence of a free society depends on a market free of governmental interference. Robert Chitester, WQLN's eccentric president and mastermind of the multi-million dollar effort, is a close friend and follower of Milton Friedman.

The ten-part series *Free to Choose* was WQLN's first major effort in national production. The extravagantly-produced series took host Milton Friedman to Scotland, England, Greece, West Germany, Japan, India, Hong Kong, and across the U.S. At each stop in his itinerary, Friedman paused to (in WQLN's words) "explode the myth of big government as a guardian of freedom."

WQLN's president Chitester managed to bring together an unprecedented number of corporate backers for the series. Fifteen underwriters, including

Reader's Digest, Firestone, Getty Oil, PepsiCo, Eli Lilly, and General Motors, paid a total of \$2.8 million for the opportunity to have Milton Friedman tell viewers of 270 (out of 284) PBS stations that "as we look to government to provide us with education, to guarantee everyone an income, to protect workers, to protect consumers, to make everything fair—we lose our freedom."

Free to Choose also received publicity from other major corporations. Hewlett Packard Company bought promotional space in at least one major newspaper, the *Denver Post*. And the Adolph Coors Company—probably attracted in particular by Friedman's unfavorable analysis of trade unionism—made an extraordinary effort to promote the series. The company printed and distributed schedules to its 8,700 employees, and bought space for advertisements for *Free to Choose* in the *Denver Post* and the *Rocky Mountain News*.

CONVERSION.

The success of *Free to Choose* has quickly brought WQLN into the forefront of national production in public broadcasting. The station's budget more than doubled last year, climbing to \$2.5 million. Next year's budget is projected to exceed \$4 million.

Chitester, a self-described "born-again capitalist," has a libertarian philosophy. Chitester says that governmental actions, even those of a demo-

cratic government, are repressive. Even consensus decision-making in a group as small as 50 people compromises freedom substantially, Chitester says.

Chitester calls for a "new awakening of values." He believes "nothing short of a religious-like conversion seems likely to have a significant effect

on the intense emotionalism that seems capable of carrying socialism as a secular religion forward over every rational obstacle.

"The success of the American Revolution was in part due to the founders' natural ability as propagandists," he says.

WQLN's plan for the next 10

years includes a 90-minute special with William F. Buckley Jr. on the status of human rights in the world; a series on crime and the criminal justice system, with a challenge to the thesis that crime derives from poverty; a series that questions the credibility of the environmental movement; and an

THE SELLING OF THE AUDIENCE

WQLN's flirtation with cable is only the tip of an iceberg called "commercialization." Now KQED in San Francisco has asked for FCC approval of pay-TV on its UHF subsidiary KQEC. The rent-a-station, rent-a-program concept appears to be gaining popularity.

One of the surest ways to bring in income is to sell advertising. And since public TV can't have commercials, PBS is groping for substitutes.

Under current consideration (and subject to FCC approval) is a plan to allow corporate logos to be displayed on the air. Underwriters only get plain-text acknowledgement now.

PUB stations are also launch-

ing in the fall a public TV guide. Called *The Dial*, it will have schedules, articles—and plenty of advertising.

In an *Advertising Age* announcement to prospective advertisers, *The Dial* explained the logic of the new magazine. Public TV watchers tend, its demographics show, to be "the better half" of Americans—"better educated, higher income, more influential." Just because they dislike network TV commercials, doesn't mean they are "anti-advertising."

"These are hardly communists," the ad says. "They're bringing home large amounts of capitalist money, intending to do lots of capitalist things with it and relying on advertising to help them choose."

The Dial promises to deliver to advertisers an important audience: decision-makers. At a time when purely ideological advertising—on the advantages of capitalism and the humanitarianism of particular corporations—is on the rise, corporate advertisers look for more places like the *New York Review of Books* to make their pitch. (The advantage is in finding a decision-maker in a

thoughtful, relaxed mood.)

The Dial is only the opening crack in the no-advertising rule on public TV. Its demographics also reveal that over 82 percent of the potential readership claims "that they would continue to watch public TV if it showed 'clustered commercials' as a means of supporting programming." Can you guess what's next?

PBS is also relaxing some restrictions for new underwriters, at the very time that it balks at accepting union money for labor-related programming (IN THESE TIMES, March 5). PBS officials are broaching local stations this month about making cigarette and liquor companies eligible to underwrite public TV shows. To continue the current prohibition, officials argue, "may give the appearance of our passing moral judgments about particular kinds of companies." Don't forget, they argue, underwriting isn't advertising.

But between possible corporate logos, *The Dial* and murmurs of "clustered commercials," the line between the two is blurring fast.

—Pat Aufderheide

animated special based on Richard Dawkins' book *The Selfish Gene*, in which selfishness is examined as a prime motivator of action and a positive social characteristic. *The Federal Budget Revue*, a musical comedy satire on federal spending starring Stan Freberg, is currently due for release.

IRONIES.

As Peter Bernstein pointed out in a recent *Fortune* article, it is ironic that "Chitester is a creature of one of the government-funded bureaucracies that Friedman deplores. For the last 14 years Chitester has run a not-for-profit, government-subsidized business."

Chitester recognizes the inconsistency. And he is trying to make his public TV station totally independent of government support. By 1985, Chitester predicts, WQLN will accept no federal money for overhead costs. Chitester will largely depend on corporate contributions—but these contributions will no doubt become tax deductions for the donors.

Chitester has also established a profit-making subsidiary of WQLN—Penn Communications, Inc.—to produce additional programming for commercial networks, syndication, and video-cassette distribution. Penn Communications will also sell national programming produced by WQLN's non-profit production subsidiary, Public Communications.

Further, WQLN hopes to win Erie's cable franchise to be awarded some time this year. The cable system would bring in at least an additional \$100,000 annually in revenues for the station, according to WQLN's projections. But the station has a number of obstacles to overcome, including opposition to its request for the FCC to grant a waiver of cross-ownership rules prohibiting broadcast licensees from operating a cable system in the same market.

FREE TO CLOSE.

Chitester is determined to make his public television station independent of formal mechanisms for public accountability. Chitester says if he is able to "free" WQLN from federal funding, he has no intention of complying with the Public Telecommunications Financing Act of 1978. The Act requires any station receiving federal money to have open financial records, community advisory boards, open board meetings, and affirmative action hiring programs. "Its only purpose was to make the politicians look like they were doing something," Chitester said about the act. "Having a community advisory board does not contribute quality unless there is a will on the part of the station to accomplish that objective."

The marketplace is the best regulator of community service, Chitester argued. "We are going to do what we need to do to have the best public TV station in the country, and present the best productions in the world. We must respond to our community needs to do this."

OPPOSITION.

But consumer groups, environmental groups, minority groups, unions, and independent producers have complained bitterly about the station.

The Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), a community-based minority training organization, complains that "WQLN has a strong pronounced anti-minority and anti-

black attitude in policy and history." For six years OIC has produced the program *Verbally Informed*. The program package includes music, news, features, and a few syndicated programs, and is produced by minority volunteers from OIC. *Verbally Informed* was carried by WQLN for 24 hours per week prior to January 1979. In that month, WQLN cut the program down to 14 hours per week.

The NAACP called the decision arbitrary and racist. "At the very time the minority population is growing from 10,000 in 1970 to 20,000 in 1980, WQLN has cut back their programming to the black and hispanic communities."

"Many times requests have been made to WQLN to provide coverage of black events and we are usually given the run-around."

The Erie County Energy Alternatives charges that back in 1977 WQLN refused to air the largest public meeting ever held in the Erie County Chambers because the meeting included a discussion of utilities, nuclear power, and public power. They also cite numerous WQLN public affairs programs covering energy issues that comprise a slanted, pro-business message.

Unions in Erie are also up in arms over WQLN's service. The Central Labor Union and Industrial Union Council alleges that WQLN has "systematically deliberately and insidiously worked against the interests of labor, blacks, women and other minority groups and consumers." In a filing opposing WQLN's request to the FCC for waiver of its cable/broadcast cross-ownership rules, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America stated: "We are opposed to the management of WQLN having any further control of the media in Erie because management has demonstrated a deep 'philosophical' hostility to organized labor.... WQLN has actively sought to tailor its program-

THE BUYING OF THE SPONSOR

Tax breaks aren't the only cookies that corporate underwriters get on public TV. Every time you donate money, you may help them out.

When that well-dressed volunteer fills your TV screen with pleas to call in and pledge, or to bid on an antique, or to become a member, you may think your money goes to the programs you want to see. But according to public media advocate Crane Davis, you'd be wrong. It mostly goes to subsidize corporate-funded programming.

Davis obtained a confidential 1979-80 financial report from New York public TV station WNET. It shows that when corporate underwriters give money, they find out what happened to it. But when we give money it disappears into a general fund. And that general fund is more likely than not to provide support services than programs.

"The station only has one thing to sell—programming," Davis explained to IN THESE TIMES. "So they sell that to private money, and to lure them they cut the cost and don't charge them overhead. They

sell the content of the program to the [corporate] underwriter and the overhead to the public."

Davis draws his conclusions from an analysis of the financial plan for the year. Money from corporations and (largely corporate) foundations accounts for a quarter of WNET's budget. WNET spends three-quarters of it on acquiring and producing programs.

The public—both through taxes and through contributions—provides over half of WNET's budget. Only 29 percent of it is used to acquire and produce programs. Public-funded programs, moreover, are often low-budget public affairs, documentary programs—and fundraisers.

Almost all the costs of fundraising programs and promotion costs are carried by "general support" funds. The fundraising programs, it is true, sometimes have an educational side. But that is often in the same vein—culture on high, safe ground—as what the corporations order up. As a staffer at KQED in San Francisco—a station whose recent fundraisers resulted in public protest over bland content and yanked programming—said, there is a "bias" in favor of programs that are non-controversial, uplifting and positive."

Tom Conway, WNET's director of finance, disputes Davis' analysis, especially concerning money raised through on-air fundraisers.

"Yes, the money raised by the auction is discretionary,"

he said, "but primarily it's used for local programming."

Davis responded, "Channel 13 doesn't track how they spend any of the general support funds. My calculations prorated the total funds over the total costs not covered by funds committed to particular programs."

"They're playing a shell game. They're running around telling everybody—the state, the federal government, private donors—'Your money pays for the programs.'"

"The fundamental thing that's wrong here is that they won't reveal anything."

WNET's fundraising techniques, which drastically limit public say over public money, are perfectly legal. It's all done with simple bookkeeping procedures.

Why does it take smuggling out documents to discover what a PBS station is only doing legally? Because the financial records of this taxpayer-funded institution are not open to the public. And although Congress has required both PBS and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting financial records to be made public, stations have not yet complied.

You can't even call up records through the Freedom of Information Act. When the CPB was created Congress ruled that it "will not be an agency or establishment of the U.S. government," which exempts it from scrutiny.

Once again it looks like at PBS some dollars are more free to choose than other dollars.

—Pat Aufderheide

ming to the interests of large business corporations."

The severely limited local programming on WQLN is also of concern to citizen groups in Erie. Most of the station's resources go into national production. Last year, WQLN provided only 400 hours of local programming. The NAACP complained that "400 hours a year

in local programming cannot be justified with [WQLN's annual] budget of over \$4 million—that is, about the total budget of National Public Radio.... WQLN is licensed to the Erie community and its minorities, not the multinational corporations." The United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers complained that WQLN "has provided only

the bare minimum of programming on issues of local concern, particularly issues of concern to working people."

THE CONNECTION.

Chitester dismisses the local opposition, claiming that it is by no means representative of the Erie community. He points to statistics ranking WQLN in the top ten percent of all public broadcasting stations both in audience viewing ratings and in station membership as a percentage of viewers in the market. He also claims that WQLN's ability to derive 25 percent of its station operating income from auctions and 35 percent from membership revenues indicates substantial community support.

WQLN's vice president and general manager David Roland calls the opposition "long-time antagonists... All of these individuals have their own axe to grind."

If Chitester's 10-year plan holds true, WQLN is likely to become a major national programming source for both public television and cable TV in the '80s.

WQLN's dependence on corporate contributions continues to increase rapidly. The station's non-profit subsidiary Public Communications, Inc., (which produces the national programming) is funded almost completely by corporate underwriters. By using WQLN—a "public charity"—business interests are able to use a substantial amount of taxpayers' money (thanks to the big tax breaks they enjoy for their "charitable contributions") to propagandize over the public airwaves.

Free market, indeed. ■ Paul D'Ari is a staff member of *Access*, the bi-weekly publication of the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting. This article first appeared there in longer form.

WQLN, the PBS station that produced *Free to Choose*, has a 10-year production plan. And it doesn't include programs for blacks, labor, women or consumers.



Documentaries such as *NO MAPS ON MY TAPS* (produced in part through WNET's TV Lab) account for a tiny part of public TV's budget.

MUSIC INDUSTRY



Thumbs, a Kansas band, decided to avoid compromise by forming their own record company.

Artistic control and records too

By Bruce Dancis

*They said we'd be artistically free
When we signed that bit of paper
They meant let's make a lotta mon-ee
An worry about it later*
(The Clash, "Complete Control")

The Clash were complaining about their record company, CBS, releasing a single without their permission. CBS, of course, also released "Complete Control," presumably with the Clash's permission. (I think there's a lesson here.) Horror stories about censorship, tampering and assorted other corporate crimes against music abound in a record industry dominated by a handful of giant multinational companies.

With the rise of the New Wave in the late '70s in both Great Britain and the U.S. new labels proliferated. The big companies generally adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

As usually occurs in such circumstances, some of the new record companies associated with New Wave, such as Virgin Records in England, became very successful and were soon largely indistinguishable from the majors. Other firms were simply absorbed, in part or in whole; Sire Records, for example, now has its products manufactured and marketed, and its publicity flacked by Warner Bros. Records. The new labels often performed what could be called research and development functions for the large companies.

Yet despite the allure of attractive advances and the obvious benefits in terms of distribution and promotion that accompany signing with a major label, many new groups are opting for the greater artistic and political freedom offered by

some of the independent labels. These are three such companies.

Rough trade.

London-based Rough Trade is a model of an independent, co-operatively run record company. Started in 1976 as a record shop, Rough Trade decided to put out records themselves about two years ago. From the beginning, Rough Trade's Allan Sturdy told IN THESE TIMES, there was a shared political and musical perspective.

"The political objective was to provide an alternative to the music establishment so that a record could be available that otherwise wouldn't be. A lot of our records have sold up to 10-15,000 copies. The record companies weren't willing to gamble on these kind of groups." Rough Trade is a haven for off-beat bands occupying the avant-garde extremities of the New Wave.

Sturdy cites the case of Belfast's Stiff Little Fingers, a hard rocking, leftist band that most closely resembles the early Clash. The group was about to sign a contract with Island Records when the head of Island decided abruptly that he didn't want them on the label. "I don't think it was because they were too hot to handle, because Bob Marley [an Island artist] is pretty hot to handle," says Sturdy. "It was more that they weren't considered commercial." Stiff Little Fingers then came to Rough Trade, which brought out their first album, *Inflammable Material*.

Rough Trade does not use firm guidelines in deciding which bands to take on. But bands seek out Rough Trade because of its progressive reputation and because their desire for a control over their music extends to the artwork for record covers.

This usually works out to the mutual satisfaction of Rough Trade and the bands, but there have been problems. "One

New do-it-yourself labels bloomed with rise of New Wave. Some of them are havens for the avant-garde.

group had a cover that some of the people in Rough Trade thought was sexist," Sturdy explains. "There was quite a big argument about it and eventually it was chopped off." Such sensitivity helps explain why Rough Trade has probably a higher proportion of all-women bands and groups in which women play leading roles than other record companies. (IN THESE TIMES, March 26, for a review of the Raincoats, a Rough Trade group.)

Their business practices further distinguish Rough Trade from the majors. The company is run cooperatively, with twice weekly meetings involving the entire staff, about 25 people currently. All Rough Trade staffers receive the same wages for the time they work.

Contracts with bands vary, but they all differ greatly from industry standards. Groups pay for their studio time (Rough Trade can help find a studio, and some Rough Trade people have become producers), then Rough Trade manufactures and distributes the record. Profits are split 50-50—there are no royalties—and Rough Trade puts any money it makes back into the company. There are also no long-term contracts. Groups can move on to larger contracts elsewhere if they want to, which, Sturdy told me with some disappointment, is what occurred with Stiff Little Fingers. (They later signed with Chrysalis Records.) Rough Trade also maintains lower record prices than the large corporations.

Sturdy is about to open Rough

Trade's first U.S. operation, in San Francisco. As in London, they will maintain a record shop as well. "That link with the public is vital," says Sturdy. One of their main reasons for coming to the U.S. is to reduce the cost of their record prices. Rough Trade may be able to charge \$6 or \$7 for albums currently available for imports for as much as \$9 or \$10. They also plan eventually to sign American bands.

415 records.

About a year after Rough Trade set up shop, Howie Klein and Chris Knab organized 415 Records. This San Francisco partnership—whose name stands for the police code for disturbing the peace, not the local area code—came about, Klein told IN THESE TIMES, because "we felt there was a real aliveness and vibrancy to what local bands were doing, and there was no chance for any of the [record] companies picking up on these bands."

Klein, who is also a well-known local rock journalist, FM dj and record spinner at a New Wave disco, considers himself a revolutionary, and his critique of the music industry goes beyond differences over taste. "The record companies are part of an anti-social movement in Western society, part of the industrial complex that enslaves people. I have a commitment not to be part of something like that. These big record companies are our enemies. They're run by accountants who are there to please the stockholders. It doesn't have anything to do with talent, with art, with culture."

Klein went on to say, with the all-too-common rhetorical adventurism of many New Wave "revolutionaries," that "those people are vicious. They should be lined up and shot, coolly and calmly. Every single higher-up in the record industry."

Infantile leftism aside, 415 does make a genuine break from conventional business practices. Bands provide their own tapes and, if they desire, their own artwork, while 415 takes care of pressing, mastering, distribution and promotion. In the past, profits were split 50-50. This has changed recently, according to Klein, since "we felt that wasn't fair to the artist. We decided that the artist should be guaranteed something, some amount of money." Under the new arrangement, the group is guaranteed a percentage of the gross sales. In this way, says Klein, "even if the record loses money, they still get paid something."

Problems with distribution, promotion and radio airplay are the main obstacles 415 has encountered. "The vast majority of [radio] stations won't consider independents," Klein believes. "They won't even listen if it's not on a major label." And even when 415 records are played—"Heart of Stone," a power pop single by SVT, has received considerable national airplay, with sales expected to reach 25,000—it doesn't do much good if listeners can't find the record. "Right now we've got SVT being played on the three biggest stations in Richmond, Va.," Klein said, but there have been "no record sales, 'cause there's no stores we can get a hold of to sell it."

As with Rough Trade, 415 doesn't require bands to be politically correct, but as Klein put it, "I wouldn't sign a band that was racist or sexist or fascist or anything like that. Mostly, the people that approach us know where we're at, and they're at the same place."

Members of a Lawrence, Kan-

CULTURE SHOCK

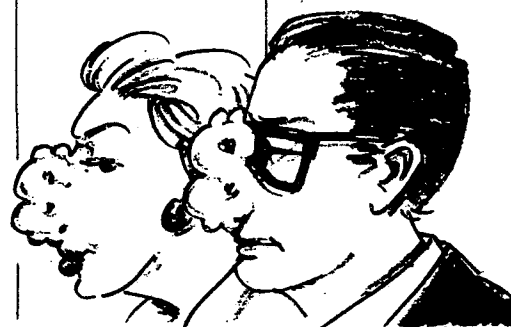
STRANGER THAN FICTION

It was only hours after the storming of the Iranian embassy in London that the producer of *The Wild Geese*, Euan Lloyd, registered the title S.A.S. (Special Air Service Regiment), with the Motion Picture Association of America, for a feature film based on the incident.

BUSINESS IS ONLY SKIN DEEP

Plastic surgery has become a deductible business expense,

reports *The Wall St. Journal*. Why? "In the tough world of business, explains the *Journal*, "every little advantage counts."



Tom Greenfield

sas-based band called Thumbs (vocalist Steve Wilson, guitarist Kevin Smith, bassist Karl Hoffmann, and keyboardist Marty Olson), plus their friend and compatriot Dan Swinney, did virtually all of the work that went into making their self-titled album, including the formation of their own label, Ramona Records, and publishing wing, Human Music. (Current drummer Dede Mosier joined after the album was completed.) They also handle their own management, bookings and publicity. The band chose to do it all their way because of what Wilson sees as the sort of "personal and financial obligation and compromises [often involved in] working for the major labels."

It helps, of course, that Thumbs' members possess a remarkable range of talents. Wilson, Smith and Olson write and arrange all their songs. Olson, a visual artist, does the band's posters and promotional materials, as well as their album cover art. Hoffmann is described by Wilson as "our one-person technical crew and electro-whiz-kid," while Swinney, in addition to heading Ramona, takes care of the sound and lights for live performances. The album was co-produced by Thumbs and Swinney, who took courses in recording engineering at a Kansas City studio.

National distribution remains a problem. JEM Records, the largest distributor of independent and New Wave records in the U.S. is handling Thumbs, but they lack the promotional resources—such as sending out review copies to the press, radio stations, and record stores—of the majors and even labels like Rough Trade.

One area that isn't a problem is Thumbs' musical ability. Rock archivists will probably be reminded of the early '70s British band Brinsley Schwarz and one of its more illustrious offspring, Graham Parker and the Rumour, largely because Olson's organ work evokes the lush sweetness of Bob Andrews. And Wilson's singing may bring back memories of a younger, pre-creon, pre-cross Bob Dylan. This kind of strong, yet melodic, rock'n'roll is making a comeback these days, and Thumbs is as good at it as any new band around.

They're also thoughtful, and Wilson's description of their songs aptly describes what they are trying to do: "I'm interested in touching and arousing people about things other than beer-drinking, but I'm not interested in being dogmatic and unreflective and, therefore, patronizing and boring. Gimme the Clash, not the Red Shadow Band."

These independent record companies still remain the proverbial drop in the bucket. Yet as 1979's sales slump in the record industry continues into 1980, perhaps the little labels will benefit.

Thumbs' Steve Wilson probably captured the thoughts and aspirations of many when he said, "We're determined to do it ourselves and within the limits of our conscience and interests. Complete control? That's a yuk—a utopian yuk, but an inspiring one."

For a Rough Trade mail order catalogue, send a self-addressed stamped envelope to Rough Trade, 1412 Grant Ave., San Francisco, CA 94133; 415 Records can be contacted at 595 Castro St., San Francisco, CA 94114; Thumbs may be ordered for \$7.00 from Ramona Records, P.O. Box 701, Lawrence, KS 66044.

Short Notice



Woody Guthrie (far left) in the early days.

Woody Guthrie and Me

By Ed Robbins, Lancaster Press, 3165 Adeline St., Berkeley, CA 94703, \$6.95

Woodrow Wilson Guthrie, recently included in the Junior Chamber of Commerce's Clean Up America campaign, has become so much of a legend that accurate reflections of his career are hard to find. In this loosely-tied collection of reminiscences, ex-journalist Ed Robbins remembers the Dust Bowl Balladeer in the mid-'30s, when both worked on KFVD radio in L.A. and Woody first explored the Communist Party. Robbins' memories are gritty and vivid, but the book contains minor inaccuracies that limit its use as history to those situations where the author himself was present. **DKD**

The Journal of Social Reconstruction

P.O. Box 143, Pine Plains, NY 12567, \$19.50 annual

This new quarterly (March, first issue) is edited by Marcus Raskin of the Institute for Policy Studies. The Journal will, say the publishers, "be international and multidisciplinary, and will attempt to demystify the actions and forces of colonization and to develop a consciousness of new modes and methods of the reconstruction of society." The first volume will contain articles by Raskin, John Berger, Christopher Jencks, Ralph Nader, Richard Barnett, Saul Landau, Robert Borosage and others. Tied to no school of thought, the journal will be "free-swinging and open-ended as it attempts to establish dialogue between practice and theory." **JW**

In Focus: A Guide to Using Films

By Linda Blackaby, Dan Georgakas and Barbara Margolis, Cine Information, 419 Park Ave., S, NYC 10016, \$9.95

You don't need to know anything about using films before approaching this comprehensive step-by-step guide to using films in groups. As independent films

proliferate and distribution systems begin to become more sophisticated, a guide like this for film users is much needed. It tells how to plan a film program, how to publicize it, how to lead discussions—and what to do when the film breaks. Also highly valuable are the list of resources, including filmographies and periodicals, and also the Film Users' Network. The Network will send film users latest information on new films; you join by clipping a coupon from the book. **PA**

GI Guinea Pigs: How the Pentagon Exposed Our Troops to Dangers More Deadly Than War

By Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign, Playboy Press, \$9.95

This book by the organizers of Citizen Soldier tells how GIs were subjected to radiation from atomic bomb tests and to dioxin poisoning during Agent Orange raids in Vietnam. The book demonstrates the tragic long-term hazards, describes bets: lawsuits

and other action, and documents evasive governmental response. An excerpt concerning dioxin victims appeared in *IN THESE TIMES* (Aug. 15, 1979). **PA**

"The Revolutionary Tradition in Islam," by Thomas Hodgkin, *Race and Class*, 21, Winter 1980. Hodgkin, a veteran British anti-colonial scholar and activist, reflects on the history and potential of Islamic radicalism. He discusses the original social impact of Islam and reviews several egalitarian social movements legitimated by the religion. Of most interest are the sections on Mahdism, a kind of Moslem millennialism, and Galiyevism, the Muslim Communist movement in the Soviet Union during the early years of the Bolshevik revolution. This timely article also includes invaluable commentary on the general question of the relationship between religion and socialism. **DR**

Cinema and History: British Newsreels and the Spanish Civil War

by Anthony Aldgate

New York Zoetrope, 31 E. 12th St., NYC 10003, \$11.95

The author, a historian at the University of Edinburgh, notes that commercial modern cinema began as short films about novel inventions or regal ceremonies—newsreels or "topicals." At one point 35 English theaters showed nothing but newsreel films. The view they conveyed of the Spanish Civil War was studiously apolitical, Aldgate notes, liberally tinged with an honestly felt pacifism. Shots of bombed Madrid were featured without comment about the pilots or artillery experts responsible, while footage of returning British volunteers from the International Brigades was excised. From a sober analysis of almost three years' worth of clips Aldgate discovers, besides a tacit acceptance of Franco, an unwillingness to explain the causes of or background to the Spanish Civil War. **LR**

On Sociology and the Black Community

By W.E.B. Du Bois, edited by Dan S. Green & Edwin D. Driver, University of Chicago Press, \$5.50

W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963) best known as a political activist and cultural critic in *The Souls of Black Folk*, was also a pioneering empirical sociologist at Atlanta University between 1896 and 1910. Among his distinctive innovations was the technique

of measuring social change through continuous re-surveys of social phenomena. This selection includes essays long difficult to obtain. The editors concentrate on Du Bois' studies of sociological method, black community life at the turn of the century, black creativity and culture, and race relations. An incisive biographical introduction argues the influence of the German scholar Gustav Schmoller in the formation of Du Bois' scientific method, and documents the unfair neglect of Du Bois' work by the white sociological establishment prior to 1970. **AW**



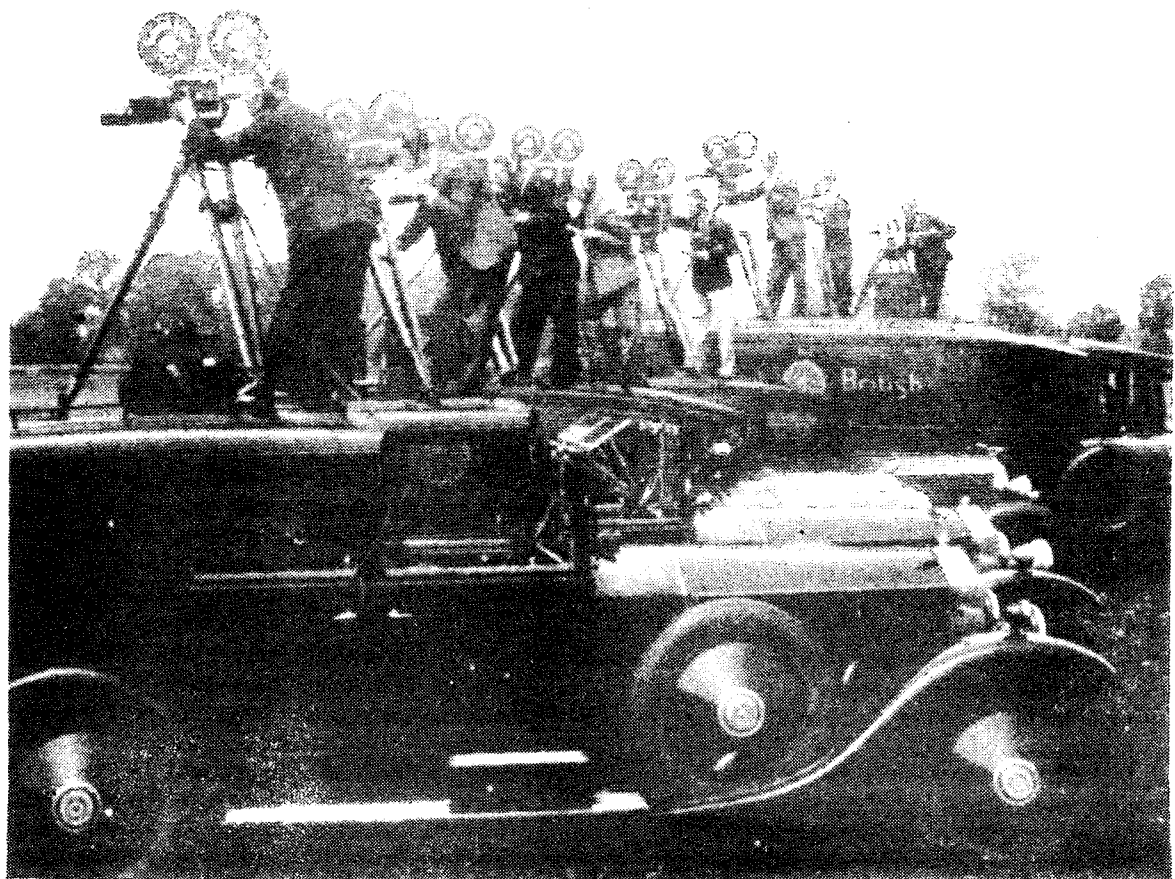
Three Mile Island.

We Are the Guinea Pigs

Directed by Joan Harvey, Parallel Films, 314 W. 91 St., NYC 10024

This is the chilling story of the Three Mile Island nuclear accident told by the victims, explained by scientists and debated by public and private officials. Doctors Helen Caldicott and Ernest Sternglass testify, as does Machinists union president William Winpisinger. The director previously produced an anti-nuclear, anti-war drama, *Ride the Red Horse*, in New York. If you like this film, it's probably not for its filmic values. At 90 minutes, it is repetitive and contains sloppy editing, but it has a clear anti-nuclear message. **JM & MH**

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, David King Dunaway, Josh Martin and Marge Harrison, David Roediger, Len Rubinstein, Alan Wald, Jim Weinstein.



Gaumont newsreel photographers.

Games

Continued from page 13.

there's going to be a war. I'll stay in if something happens. You gotta figure that like 80 percent of the guys want some kind of conflict. I mean, people are looking for that kind of intense situation. People say we're not ready, but we feel like we're ready."

"You think a war's likely?" he asks the rest of the crew. They all nod their heads in agreement.

'Anytime, anywhere.'

As the tanks are about to move forward one of the evaluators with a white cloth band tied around his helmet announces a "live target." I turn in time to see a jeep-fired TOW flash like a small silver dagger across the desert. One thousand meters away a large pile of tires explodes into a shower of black rubber—a direct hit. The gunner and his crew are dancing around their jeep. It's the first time they've ever fired one of their missiles.

"The Marines are unique. We're the smallest of the services. There's only 190,000 of us, but when we make an amphibious assault, when we go onto a beachhead, we go with everything we need. We're a complete air-ground team." Major Michael Hire explains as he squats down on the ground chewing gum from his C-rats. He is a 12-year veteran of the Corp who served in Vietnam and now works as the executive officer for an infantry battalion. "Like a lot of younger Marines, I wasn't sure whether I'd stay with the service. There was a lot of bitterness after Vietnam. But I decided to stay because the Marines are the most professional outfit I've ever been associated with. The camaraderie, the Marine family is what made me stay," Hire says.

"You have to understand these young Marines today who tell you they want to go to war. It's like a high-school football team. You train them week after week after week and then after six or seven weeks the coach calls them together and says, 'All right, we're going to play a game tomorrow—are you ready?' Of course they're going to be up for it. But those of us who've been to war, I think

we know it's not all that romantic. I hope we don't have to go to war; but if we do, it's good to feel like we're ready. We've had the Israelis come in here to observe our exercises and they're impressed with the realism. They say the terrain, the situations are just like back where they come from."

A Huey (UH-1N) helicopter passes just above us. Its twin blades raise up a dust storm as it settles noisily on a flat piece of ground 50 yards off to our right. The pilot, co-pilot and regimental commander get off and walk away toward the newly established communications center. "Our mission right now is to act as a command and control observation deck," explains the bird's crew chief Lance Corporal Eric Huffman as he shows us around his pride and joy. "This here's a survival vest." He pulls a grey lifesaver-type vest from under one of the seats. "It costs over \$1,000. It's got a knife, floatation gear, a first-aid kit, pin flares that you can also aim at someone if you don't have a gun—it even has a rubber, in case you find some jungle pussy."

He pulls a helmet off the deck. "See, I can tune into a rock station and listen to music while we're up there. The pilot doesn't mind—he can just lower the mix on his headset so that it doesn't bother him. It doesn't interfere with regular communications. Of course overseas we'd have to rig it to use tape cassettes. We couldn't pick up any L.A. stations or nothing."

Huffman, like many of the young recruits we talked with, is from a small town—this one just outside of Houston. He wears a one-piece green flight suit and a black trucker's cap with his squadron's emblem: an ace of spades with the words 'Anytime, anyplace' stenciled around it.

"You know how in *Apocalypse Now* they go around putting aces of spades on the dead VC—well, that's where our squadron emblem comes from, from killing all those Viet Cong. See I double as door gunner when we rig for combat. I fire this .60 caliber gattling gun with six rotating barrels that can shoot off 4,000 rounds per minute. It's just like in the movie. I didn't like the last part of that film too much, but when they're flying into that village blowing all that shit away, I thought that was fantastic. I must have seen that movie about five times now."

What does he think of the possibility of war? "Everyone's looking forward to it. I'd like to kick ass in Iran." What if we end up fighting in Pakistan or Guatemala? "Anyplace is fine. I just want some action," he smiles with a sweet adolescent enthusiasm. "You see they try and keep us motivated that way. It's all part of the plan."

The expeditionary airfield.

By late afternoon the air's temperature has warmed into the high 80s, still well short of the 120-135 degree temperatures reached in mid-summer. We decide to visit the expeditionary airfield.

Richard Rossi, the Expeditionary Airfield Officer, explains the set-up. This airfield uses AM-2 interlocking aluminum matting for its surface. It can and has landed aircraft as large as the C-5A transport. At \$12 a square foot you can figure the price of this airfield at about \$40 million. We have a number of airfields like this one packed up in green boxes ready for deployment anywhere in the world at any time. We could put together a 4,000-foot strip like this in 72 hours. The Seebies would come in with bulldozers, level out a piece of ground and then start laying surface over it. It's been done once already, a couple of years ago in Rota, Spain, I believe. It's very effective if you're looking for a quick build-up of ground-based air-support. We're putting these airfields on the market. We've already sold one to Israel."

Night moves.

We take the truck back out to Delta Quarter at sunset to watch the 3rd Battalion, 7th Marines repulse a night attack.

We reach the flat top of the hill just as the sun drops behind the mountains off to our left. The hilltop is crowded with dozens of high-ranking marines and other observers including a couple of Canadian army officers, a young Ivy League type dressed in a corduroy bush jacket who doesn't want to talk with the press, and two congressmen—David Evans of Indiana and Charles Dougherty of Pennsylvania.

In the valley below, off to our sides, we can see lines of tanks stretched out toward the mountains. As the last light fades we begin to hear the drone of planes. Suddenly a yellow flare goes up. A series of parachute illumination flares

drop from above. The valley floor in front of us lights up in a ghostly pale white. Beams like motorcycle headlights flash on in different parts of the valley marking the positions of wooden pop-up tank targets. There are more flares and then the orange muzzle flash and bark of a dozen tank cannons as red illumination rounds blast across the valley floor like UFOs, bouncing off the plain and shooting up into the sky before blinking out of existence.

After ten minutes, three green flares go up and the guns fall silent. The parachute flares die out on the ground and the valley is suddenly thrown into quiet darkness. Smoke settles like smog across the valley floor.

Snatches of conversation drift through the dark: "...So the Syrians abandoned this T-62 on the Golan Heights. I climbed in and started it up. The Israelis jerked me right out of there. Boy, were they pissed..."

"You could aim one of those TOWs at a window in the Pentagon and that's the window it would go through..."

"We had these Warsaw Pact observers here—a Russian, a Pole and a Hungarian. Every time the Russian wanted to know something he'd call the Polish guy over into a huddle..."

"...Sure, I could kill the dog, but what would I do with my kids?"

Congressman Dougherty is a large, balding, overweight ex-Marine. A Republican from Philadelphia's fourth district, he sits on the House Armed Services Committee. "Obviously the most critical area in the world today is the Persian Gulf, a desert warfare environment," he says. "Before committing American troops to desert warfare, you have to find out whether or not they're ready to handle desert warfare. I'm very impressed with what I've seen here, particularly the caliber of the junior officers I've talked with. I think this is the best training you can get short of actual combat."

"You know, we've passed through the phase of detente. The Russians have made very clear that they're going to take what they want. You reach a point in time where if the other guy's going to play it tough you have a basic decision to make, either give it up or respond."

"I consider the 1980s a decade of conflict. By the mid-'80s the U.S. is going to be in a very, very, very difficult position because we're not going to have the resources to respond and the vital interests of this country may be at stake. The American people have to make a choice in 1980 and 1981. We need 5 percent real growth in the defense budget."

As our open truck heads back to main camp, I ask Major Hire what he thinks about the Congressman's prediction that the 1980s will be a decade of conflict. "Could be," he says. "It's not up to us where we're going to fight or when; that's up to the Commander in Chief." We talk about possible areas of conflict in the world, of how the U.S. and Russia avoid direct conflict by using Third World "surrogates" in places like Vietnam, Angola and Afghanistan. "What I learned in Vietnam is that you can't go in and supplant the population. If people want to change, it's going to happen. I hope the United States has learned that lesson and won't go in to support another bad cause or unpopular government." ■

David Helvar is a San Diego writer who frequently contributes to IN THESE TIMES.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

June 7/Philadelphia, PA

The Caribbean: U.S. Policy and Self-Determination. Workshops on Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Vieques, Haiti, Cuba and Grenada and U.S. military and economic strategy. A

public seminar co-sponsored by Friends Peace Committee and American Friends Service Committee. From 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. at Fourth and Arch Streets. Call (215) 241-7230.

June 8/San Francisco, CA

Modern Times Bookstore sponsors a forum on "Politics and the Media" by authors Laurence Shoup and Todd Gitlin. They will speak on "The Establishment Media and the 1980 Elections: The Case of John B. Anderson" and "The Media and the Left." Sunday at New College, 777 Valencia St., 7:30 p.m. Admission free. Information: (415) 621-2675.

June 11/Chicago, IL

Economic Democracy. A book party and reception for Derek Shearer, co-author of *Economic Democracy—The Challenge of the 1980s*, will be held from 5:30 to 8:00 p.m. at the Midwest Academy, 600 W. Fullerton, (Tel. 975-3670). Copies of the book will be available and the author will give a short talk. Co-hosted by the Midwest Academy and IN THESE TIMES.

June 19-21/New York, NY

Intellectual Labor and Class Struggle, will be the theme of the Marxist Union Conference at New York University. The conference will have many speakers and workshops of interest to Marxists. Registration begins at 7:30 p.m. at Schimmel Auditorium in the Tisch Building, 40 W. 4th Street.

June 20-22/Stephentown, N.Y.

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June 28/Anaheim, CA

Rally and demonstration to protest National Right to Life Convention. Program includes: Rhonda Copeland, Deidre English, Robin Tyler and the L.A. Women's Chorus. Rally at noon at Stoddard Park (Katella & 9th Streets). Sponsored by the June 28th Abortion Rights Coalition. For more information call (213) 254-2863 or (714) 972-2772.

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Students

Continued from page 11.

ment going, a stab was made at a national action in the capital. Dreams of May '68. But when students from Grenoble and several other provincial towns arrived in Paris May 9 and converged on the Jussieu campus—a sinister group of unwashed glass rectangles on stilts on a barren plaza—they counted themselves and found only a few hundred. Paris was far behind the provinces.

At Jussieu, a handful of idealistic students were enjoying a hunger strike and occupation of the top floor of the main tower in total isolation, ignored by students and faculty. The disappointed provincials realized it would be absurd to go ahead with their planned demonstration, and decided instead to take part in a big march on behalf of immigrant workers organized for the next day.

But the unkept promise of excitement had attracted to Jussieu a certain number of autonomes who, rather than waste their day, chased students out of their classes with fire extinguishers and threw some chairs into heaps intended to represent barricades. Thus began a cops-and-autonomes street spectacle that of course attracted much more attention than Grenoble's well-behaved student movement.

May 13 was a fine sunny day in Paris. Some 100,000 people marched down the Boulevard Voltaire at the call of the CGT labor confederation to protest against government plans to weaken the social security national health coverage. It was the biggest demonstration in 14 months, a sign that deep-running discontent could still bring masses into the streets, despite divisions and discouragement on the left.

The autonomes meanwhile were hanging around Jussieu, looking for trouble or trying to make it. In the late afternoon, they took a city bus away from its

driver and passengers, set it across a street and set it afire. About half an hour later, police stormed the Jussieu campus with tear gas and clubs. Youths fled in panic. One of them, Alain Begrand, jumped from the plaza onto the corrugated tin roof of a small shed several feet above ground. The flimsy roof gave way. The shed turned out to cover a deep service shaft. Alain Begrand fell to instant death.

He had never had much luck. His biography, dug from total obscurity by the newspapers, is the case history of an outcast. Poor unwed mother slaving in menial jobs to support turbulent son who never learns a trade. Short stretch in the Spanish foreign legion. When his mother drowned herself in the Saone river, neighbors blamed Alain. He came to Paris, became a vagrant, a familiar client of the soup kitchens and flop houses run by charitable groups. His only known activity in recent years was to hasten to any political demonstration where he could express his feelings by throwing rocks at cops or smashing a few store windows.

The last shall be first.

There are a few intellectual autonomes who have latched onto a watered-down version of the ideas of Italian *autonomia* theorists like Toni Negri. Some of them are peaceful students who rail against political organizations without resorting to violence. Others have taken the gospel to the *loubards*, the lumpen youth of the dormitory suburbs, informing them that the last shall be the first, that blessed are those who directly express their needs by ripping off and their desires by smashing cops for they shall spontaneously make the revolution. Ruling authorities are apparently untroubled enough by the probability of this apocalyptic result to give a disturbingly wide leeway to autonome self-expression, which tends to drown out that of any other protesting group in the vicinity.

The death of Begrand aroused a massive protest at the police invasion of the

Jussieu campus. Some 15,000 students and teachers turned out for a protest march through the Latin Quarter that many found terrifying. The well-disciplined security guard of Alain Krivine's LCR, which protected the student movement throughout May '68 and in the years following, seems to have given up trying to put itself between autonomes and the police, only to get beaten up by both. The May 14 demonstration had no *service d'ordre*, contrary to French custom. Autonomes, their faces covered with kerchiefs and carrying rocks and iron bars, mingled with frightened students—who found them as strange as Martians—before violently attacking police who remained oddly passive until the end, when that other contingent of Martians, the CRS riot police, responded by attacking the students.

Thus a visible student revolt was created in Paris, but without any clear aims. Demonstrators took up the demand of the foreign student defense movement to rescind the Imbert decree, but with little conviction that the government will give in. Relative student apathy does not seem to reflect more conservative opinions so much as skepticism over the effectiveness of political action. At Jussieu, the most heartfelt and unanimous demand was to get both the police and the autonomes out of the university. For many, autonomes and cops come to the same thing.

The autonome phenomenon calls attention to a real social problem, the growing number of young people with no stake in a society that has no use for them. They show they are not resigned to being "good losers" and that is a sort of political expression. But many observers are convinced that they are being manipulated.

Everyone has noticed fishy things going on. *Le Monde* reported that one particularly vociferous autonome, who led an attack on newspaper photographers, was later seen strolling from the scene of his havoc in the friendly company of two plainclothes policemen, evidently his

colleagues. The area around Jussieu has reportedly been blocked off by police, as if to make it a playground for autonomes to do what they like.

On one of these occasions, kids turned over a couple of cars in classic barricade alignment and set a small bonfire going alongside. A few minutes later, firemen arrived on the scene. But, oddly enough, they did not move to extinguish the fires which surprisingly had not yet reached the cars. They waited a full ten minutes until, as the gas tanks sent up impressive clouds of smoke and flames devoured the vehicles, they moved in with hoses to do their heroic fireman act as photographers filmed and students looked on skeptically. Many express puzzlement over what the government is trying to do.

After the Jussieu incidents, the CGT blamed "the behavior of the government and the interior minister who, with the cooperation of ranking police authorities and the Jussieu administration, has deliberately turned that university into the headquarters of autonome groups tele-guided by the government against the student action, but also against workers' action."

For a couple of years now, the same pattern has emerged at almost every major demonstration. After a curiously unimpeded round of autonome trashing has enraged local shopkeepers and provided the right-wing press with its scare headlines and photos for the next day's front pages, riot police move in to gas and club demonstrators or bystanders who had nothing to do with the trashing. This sequence obviously serves to confuse the passive media public, make a number of people think twice before venturing near a demonstration and prevents a current of sympathy from passing between demonstrators and the surrounding population. It also advertises aimless "violence" as the privileged form of protest, a message that easily gets across to the growing number of young people excluded both from the working world and from school. ■

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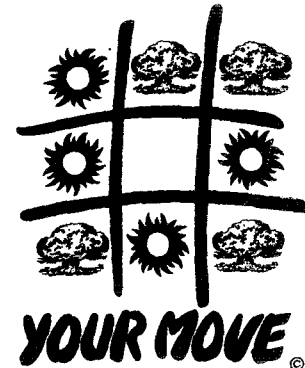
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BY JEAN FRANCO

ALEJO CARPENTIER, WHO died recently in Paris, was Cuban Ambassador to France and a major novelist. He was also one of the few remaining survivors of a generation of Cuban intellectuals whose political consciousness was formed during the turbulent years of the '20s.

A journalist, poet and something of a musician, he was imprisoned in 1927 during an anti-communist roundup for signing a manifesto against the dictatorship of Machado and reportedly his first novel, *Ecue-yamba-o*, was written in jail.

Between 1928 and 1959 he spent many years out of Cuba, driven away like so many other Caribbean writers by political repression, corruption and the lack of any intellectual stimulus. For 11 years he lived in Paris, and in the '50s he was a radio station manager in Venezuela.

Carpentier's early novels were greeted by a resounding silence in Cuba, which was a society not so much hostile to writers as totally indifferent. In the pre-revolutionary years, at least 23 percent of the population was illiterate. Even for the literate middle class, print culture was of little importance. Popular music, night club entertainment, radio, film and later TV supplied their myths and heroes. Writers worked in



MEMOIRS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier captured the rich cultural & ethnic diversity of Latin America.

isolation and wrote for one another. But they were also channels of communication, antennae of a cultural world outside Cuba—which helps explain why restrictions on travel have been so painful to those writers who stayed in Cuba after the Revolution.

This isolation and this consciousness of being a cultural missionary accounts for the idiosyncrasy of Carpentier's style, with its conspicuous erudition and good taste. His novels are combination essay, allegory and chronicle. It is as if they had to take on functions that in other countries would have been performed by academic or literary journals. Carpentier's reputation in Latin America came as a result of two novels—*The Kingdom of This World* (1945) and *The Lost Steps* (1953). The first was written after his visit to Haiti with the actor Louis Jouvet, and the second after a journey to the interior of Venezuela.

In both novels his characteristic concerns have already surfaced—the ambition to recreate in one vast panoramic glance the entire history of the West's encounters with the Americas, an obsession with the disastrous homogenizing drive of the metropolitan nations, a grasp of the special importance of the Caribbean.

Nearly all Carpentier's novels are historical. Nearly all take in vast expanses of time. This is even true of *The Lost Steps*, in which the narrator's journey across Venezuela takes him to communities living in the colonial period, to tribal communities and to the genesis of society itself. This retrospective journey, which in Europe

would need a time-machine, can in Venezuela be made merely by travelling to the interior.

What in another writer would be a nostalgic prayer for the return of a lost golden age, in Carpentier becomes sheer celebration of the fact that in Latin America different stages of historical development do not simply sink into a black hole of printed records but are living communities juxtaposed in the present. The uneven development of Latin America has been disastrous politically and economically but has given it a cultural diversity that has no parallel in Europe.

The conviction that gives coherence to all of Carpentier's writing is that the history of the Caribbean is more than the history of exploitation. As he depicts it (in *The Road to Santiago*, for instance) the confrontation of Europe, Africa and America in the 16th century can never be grasped merely in terms of greed. From Europe, a mad torrent of religious vision, medieval festival and Renaissance idealism confronted but never completely homogenized the culture of the African slaves and the Indians.

Carpentier's novels are like monitoring eyes in the middle of this torrent. Again and again the gratuitous proliferation of objects, both cultural and natural attracts his observers—whether the infinite variety of architectural convolutions in Havana in *The City of Columns*, the multiplicity of trees or sea shells catalogued in *Explosion in a Cathedral*, or the storms of butterflies in *The Lost Steps* and the lists of musical instruments in *Concierto barroco*.



Explosion in a Cathedral, written just before the Cuban Revolution and published in 1962 is undoubtedly his major work and probably the first novel by any writer to attempt to envision the entire Caribbean as a unity. Carpentier's choice of historical period for the novel seems to be based on a conviction (shared by other thinkers such as Foucault) that the end of the 18th century was a crucial turning-point, when the state assumed more and more direct control over the population both in the metropolis and in the colonies.

The central figure in *Explosion in a Cathedral* is Victor Hugues, a revolutionary who paradoxically brings the new repressive order to the Caribbean in the name of the liberation. The novel requires much more than the human life span of the characters in order to tell its story. The process by which the inventiveness and cultural variety of the area has been subdued, catalogued and made manageable for

the advanced industrial nations was still only beginning at the period in which the novel is set. Carpentier's themes are so vast that they seem to require much greater cycles of time for their completion.

The Cuban revolution profoundly altered the conditions under which writers of Carpentier's generation worked and created for the first time the possibility of a public. Unfortunately the blockade of Cuba by North America and the other Latin American states affected cultural resources, especially the supply of books from abroad.

AS THE BLOCKADE TIGHTENED, the richness and variety of city life was diminished. Night clubs closed, life became more austere, many newspapers stopped publication. Literary patronage passed from the private to the public sector. Energies were diverted from the casual bohemian life of the city into labor in the countryside and the sugar harvest.

Carpentier was among a group of older established writers who stayed in Cuba to work for the revolution. He became director of the National Publishing House and has served since the late '60s as Cuban ambassador to Paris.

Many people expected him to write the great historical novel of the revolution, but this was to underestimate the difficulties of adjusting a global vision to the day-to-day problems of a new social order. His last three novels be-

long, in reality, to the same cycle as *Explosion in a Cathedral*. *Concierto barroco* (1974) is a fantasy about the impact of the new world on the old, set in 17th-century Venice and with Vivaldi and Scarlatti as characters. *Reason of State* (1974) and *The Rite of Spring* (1978) explore themes that had concerned him since *The Lost Steps*—the disassociation from the Enlightenment onwards of elite culture from any ethical vision. The Nazi camp commander can enjoy Beethoven.

In *Reason of State*, a Central American dictator combines savage repression with a discriminating taste for the best music, painting and literature. In *The Rite of Spring*, the only one of his novels to deal with the events of 1959, the main character is a Russian emigre dancer. Through her Carpentier chronicles the relation of culture and politics over the last 50 years. The novel is a final acknowledgement that the good taste and discrimination that had once stood clearly in opposition to the materialism of bourgeois society had now become anachronistic.

There is perhaps more of the autobiographical in this than is at first apparent. Carpentier certainly must have been aware that his novels bring a whole epoch of cultural preferences to an end. They do not give us and cannot give us any idea of what is to come or whether the project for democratization of culture, abandoned by the avant-garde in the 19th century, will ever be resumed.

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